The Land of STORY-BOOKS

Scottish Children's Literature in the Long Nineteenth Century

Edited by Sarah Dunnigan and Shu-Fang Lai

VISIT…

SCOTTISH LITERATURE INTERNATIONAL

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Scottish Children's Literature in the Long Nineteenth Century

Edited by
SARAH DUNNIGAN
and SHU-FANG LAI

Occasional Papers: Number 23
Association for Scottish Literary Studies

Published by
Scottish Literature International
Scottish Literature
7 University Gardens
University of Glasgow
Glasgow G12 8QH

Scottish Literature International is an imprint of
the Association for Scottish Literary Studies

www.asls.org.uk

ASLS is a registered charity no. SC006535

First published 2019

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Photographs on pp. 403, 406, 408, 409, 410, and 414
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A CIP catalogue for this title
is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-908980-29-8

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Acknowledgements

This book has taken a long time to come to fruition, and we are deeply grateful to all our contributors for their patience as well as insight. We are indebted to many people who have enabled the volume to grow and develop. Duncan Jones was an endless store of advice, support, and care throughout the whole process, and Ian Brown steered the book through its various stages with generous wisdom and good humour. We are immeasurably grateful to Moira Hansen and Kate Mathis, each of whom provided an immense amount of editorial assistance in the final stage, and did so with meticulous grace; thanks also to Ellen Beard. Warmest thanks, too, to Edinburgh's Museum of Childhood, and in particular, Curator Lyn Stevens; to the SELCIE research team at the University of Edinburgh for their energy and devotion to the material treasures of Scottish children's literature, and to David Oulton and Ivon Bartholomew who patiently photographed some of these for us. Special thanks to IASH at the University of Edinburgh for hosting Shu-Fang Lai's research trips and to MOST of Taiwan for providing travel funding for her research project on Victorian fairy tales; and to the School of Literatures, Languages, and Cultures' Research Committee at the University of Edinburgh for their support. Lastly, this volume has grown out of a friendship which began in Edinburgh many years ago, kindled by a shared love of children's literature; and it's for our mothers, both much missed, who first led us into the garden of books.

THE LAND OF STORY-BOOKS

At evening, when the lamp is lit,
Around the fire my parents sit;
They sit at home and talk and sing,
And do not play at anything.

Now, with my little gun, I crawl
All in the dark along the wall,
And follow round the forest track
Away behind the sofa back.

There, in the night, where none can spy,
All in my hunter's camp I lie,
And play at books that I have read
Till it is time to go to bed.

These are the hills, these are the woods,
These are my starry solitudes;
And there the river by whose brink
The roaring lions come to drink.

I see the others far away
As if in firelit camp they lay,
And I, like to an Indian scout,
Around their party prowled about.

So, when my nurse comes in for me,
Home I return across the sea,
And go to bed with backward looks
At my dear land of Story-books.

Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885)

Introduction

SARAH DUNNIGAN

Our volume takes its title from one of Robert Louis Stevenson's most well-known poems from that much-loved collection, *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885). It speaks of the different worlds between child and parent, separated by a gulf of imagination. The young narrator is tracker, hunter, forester, traveller, sea-voyager, wanderer – on visits to lands resonant with energy, promise, and adventure that are always time-limited; like J. M. Barrie's Neverland, they collectively constitute a world which must eventually be left. Stevenson's little poem is also a huge celebration of the power of children's books. Reading stories, and hearing them too, is the beginning of something else – in that evocative phrase, books are to be 'played at'; stories are things to be played with. In Stevenson's volume, the world as lit by the imagination of books is full of invisible powers ('The Unseen Playmate'); charged by the agency of the child her or himself: 'I called the little pool a sea […] This was the world and I was king'.[1] 'Littleness' in 'the pleasant Land of Play' is not an encumbrance or limitation: 'my tiny self I see […] / Little things with lovely eyes / See me sailing with surprise'.[2] A child's view is the experiential centre of Stevenson's book: ordinary yet magical, bound by the rhythms of day and night; garden and bedroom; a sentient, companionable world of sun and moon.

In such a world of sympathetic connectedness, the child is sometimes solitary but never lonely. In giving imaginative life to 'the dear land of Storybooks', Stevenson fashioned a tender myth of childhood and literature. Like Barrie's *Peter Pan* (it is striking how Scottish writers have inspired such enduring myths or dreams of childhood), it is also a book about memory: 'Yet as I saw it, I see it again […] And as long as I live and where'er I may be, / I'll always remember my town by the sea',[3] and itself constitutes a memory for many of us. Of course, it is both idealising and poignant, like that ethereal figure 'the child of air' in 'To any Reader'; familiar yet strange;

nostalgic and defamiliarising. For an iconic world landmark in children's literature (like *Treasure Island,* like *Peter Pan*), it is a book which we both know and don't know.[4]

In that sense, it provides an apt beginning for a book about Scottish children's writing in the nineteenth century, a literary world which is in part recognisable, in part unknown. Its 'surface' is bright and familiar, starrily pinpointed by Stevenson and Barrie, of course, but also by George MacDonald, a much loved writer, if still not quite as 'canonical', and R. M. Ballantyne (1825–1894) too, though *The Coral Island* (1857) belongs to a more prolific and diverse corpus than is perhaps known.[5] This volume arose out of curiosity – do these cherished writers and texts arise out of a more deeply embedded, widespread culture of children's books and literature in Scotland at the time? Who, and where, might be their predecessors, origins, inspirations? Is there a tradition, or traditions, of Scottish literature for children which 'houses' these writers – an equivalent 'golden age' to the classic 'Golden Age' of British children's literature into which MacDonald, for example, is sometimes cast? What seed store of influence might have shaped their work? This volume, the first sustained book-length introduction to the subject of nineteenth-century Scottish children's literature, seeks to ask such questions. It builds on, and is indebted to, the pioneering work of Maureen Farrell whose doctoral thesis is the first academic study devoted to the historical subject of Scottish children's literature as an autonomous, independent area.[6] In 2003, James Alison and Ronald Renton produced *Treasure Islands* which introduces a range of Scottish writers to young readers aged 10–14, beginning in the nineteenth century.[7] Seven years later, James [Jim] Alison compiled a survey of the history of Scottish children's literature from 1823 onwards.[8] Fiona McCulloch has written extensively and illuminatingly on contemporary Scottish writing for children and adolescents, most recently in her study, *Contemporary British Children's Fiction and Cosmopolitanism*.[9] These are landmark achievements in a Scottish critical and literary-historical landscape which has made little room for children's literature – or for the role which writing for children has played in the aesthetic, cultural, and ideological shaping of 'Scottish

literature'. It has rarely accorded importance to the roles of children as readers and audiences, and as literary subjects themselves – how have children been imagined?

A number of possible reasons spring to mind for the relative occlusion of historical children's literature from what forms the prevailing narratives of Scottish literature – arguably its perceived unimportance within the critical canon (this has troubled the critical reception of children's literature within the literary studies more broadly until relatively recently); the fact that women were so instrumental in its creation when archival and critical work on pre-1900 Scottish writing by women is still ongoing. A reluctance to excavate the area might also arise from the seeming invisibility or inaccessibility of texts beyond those which are well-known. And the quest to discover a tradition of Scottish children's literature is at once complicated by asking how, if at all, does 'nationality' come into the picture of children's literature? Is the desire to unearth apparent roots and origins perhaps arguably not reductive, given the obvious range, heterogeneity, and diversity of transmission of children's literature within the period? How, for example, can the fairy tale for children be distinctly Scottish in a century when the mode so complexly evolves through different means of linguistic and cultural transmutation? Nineteenth-century children's literature is distinctly comparative, internationalist, transnational.[10]

And such apparent thorny issues exist within a field which in scholarly terms is already beset by its own conceptual and terminological difficulties. What, in fact, *is* children's literature? How might it begin to be defined?[11] The threshold between 'child' and 'adult' literature, and the danger of categorisation, is and was precarious both then and now. Too strong an emphasis on 'literature' as conventionally understood (in other words, the printed book held in a child's hands) risks neglecting the whole question of oral culture which is such a vital dimension of the emergence and flourishing of what we call 'children's literature', especially in Scotland, as Valentina Bold's essay here demonstrates; not just one but plural cultures open up imaginative worlds for nineteenth-century Scottish children. And though the historiography of children and childhood in pre-1900 Scotland is not

extensive,[12] a volume such as this needs to ask who exactly are being identified as children in the term 'Scottish children's literature'? For which child, or which group of children, is this literature intended? The figure of the 'child reader', so luminously rendered in Stevenson's collection, is just that – a fiction or 'phantom in the garden', as the lyric, 'To Any Reader' puts it, because the historical reality is shaped by the contingencies of class and gender which, in turn, partly determine literacy, and access to printed books and forms of education. And, of course, on the other side of the imaginative exchange the exigencies of class and gender also determine who is able to publish as a children's writer, who has access to create within particular kinds of print culture. The authors discussed within this volume range from the socially privileged elite, such as Jessie Saxby, to those from working-class cultures, such as William Miller.

All the more important, then, that this book is seen as a beginning. Rather than being seen as a comprehensive or all-encompassing account of nineteenth-century Scottish literature for, and about, children, it both picks up particular threads of interest – in the work of Stevenson, Barrie, MacDonald, Ballantyne – and starts some new ones – for example, children's chapbook culture, the contribution of women writers, popular poetry, periodical culture. Exclusions will be found; it has not been possible, for example, to include Kenneth Grahame (1859–1932), who lived in Scotland until he was five; or Beatrix Potter (1866–1943) whose girlhood holidays in Perthshire nourished her imagination. The volume also chooses its starting point on the cusp of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But of course, this was not when 'children's literature', or writing which was either intended for, or inclusive of, children began in Scotland.[13] As early as the fourteenth century, in the Scots vernacular life of Mary Magdalene, we find the image of a young child seen playing on the shore:

> & as thai yed one the sand,
> A child thai saw hym playand,
> As yonge childir ar wont to do;[14]
> [*as they went onto the sand they saw a child playing just as young children instinctively do*]

This is no ordinary child but the offspring of a king and queen whose conception was miraculously enabled by the Magdalene; and he has, also, been thought dead by his father; so, this first, far-off glimpse of his son is a kind of resurrection. The little boy is very much alive, and playing, as the narrative tells us, in a very child-like way. It is a moment in the text which has central spiritual significance but is also touchingly ordinary. *Ratis Raving*, composed anonymously in the second half of the fifteenth century, is a poetic 'advice to youth' text which forms part of a medieval wisdom tradition depicting the 'ages of man'. Maturation is portrayed as a process as natural and organic as the growth of a tree, as the prologue indicates – those figurative branches can grow strong and healthy provided there is the properly nourishing soil in which s/he can take root; or they can become misshapen and withered. The condition and potentiality of each stage is laid bare, and the poem is fascinating for the care and detail with which it elaborates on two defined stages of infancy and early childhood: from birth to three years old; and from three to seven. In a work so intent on the fostering of ethical and moral sense we find a rather beautiful elaboration of child's play. This is explicitly not the age in which the child's morally reflective capacity or agency is yet developed; rather

> Sa lang havis child wyl alwaye
> With fluris for to Jap and playe;
> With stikis, and with spalys small
> To byge up chalmer, spens and hall;
> To mak a wicht horss of a wand;
> Of brokin breid a schip saland;
> A bunwed tyll a burly spere;
> And of a seg a swerd of were;
> A cumly lady of a clout;
>
> [*a child will always perform tricks and play with flowers, with sticks, and with little splinters of wood to build a [bed]room, a pantry, and hall; to make out of a twig a strong horse, a sailing ship out of broken bread; out of a stem of ragwort (a wildflower) a sturdy spear; and a war-sword out of sedge (a grass-like plant); a lovely lady of a ragcloth (a ragdoll)*]

Alongside this engaging account of a young child's cognitive and creative capacities, in late medieval and early modern Scotland we catch glimpses of the culture of childhood. Some of the catechisms, prayer books, proverbs, and psalms printed in Scotland during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have been used or designed for collective family devotion; as R. A. Houston points out, well into the eighteenth century there are 'many examples of learning in a family context' for the institutional church 'was keen to have families practising reading and catechism together – adults, children and servants'.[15] Such texts, too, would have formed the basis of a child's memory-based learning at this time.[16] In 1644, a Scottish minister denounced – in what has become a rather notorious quotation – 'youth's poison': the 'schools and country' are 'stained, yea pestered, with idle books, and their children fed on fables, love-songs, baudry ballads, heathen husks'; in other words, the realm of imaginative, secular, and popular literature.[17] The minister may have been alluding to printed texts in circulation from outwith Scotland, as well as an indigenous oral culture of ballad and folktale; interestingly, an edition of the tale of *Tom Thumb* was printed in Edinburgh in 1682.[18] A century earlier Robert Henryson's *Morall Fabillis* by virtue of its very fabular genre has a claim to be one of the earliest Scottish literary texts for whom children and young people might well have been included in its audience.[19] In other corners, too, we find eclectic but interesting allusions to young listeners or readers. In a late seventeenth-century spiritual memoir, a young woman reflects on the 'romances' which kindled her 'imagination'.[20] Sir David Lyndsay (c. 1490–c. 1555), a herald and diplomat attached to the royal court, perhaps now most famed for his political drama, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, played a pivotal role in the infancy and childhood of James V whose father died, of course, at Flodden field when he was not yet eighteen months old. In a poem entitled, 'The Dreme' ['Epistil', c. 1526, printed 1558/9], Lyndsay gives us a vignette of quasi-paternal nurture:

> Quhen thou was young, I bure the in myne arme
> Full tenderlie, tyll thow begouth to gang
> And in thy bed oft happit the full warme,
> With lute in hand syne sweitlie to the sang[21]

Lyndsay portrays himself as lulling storyteller to the infant king, the narrator of biblical and mythical tales, prophecies, and those 'mony uther plesand storye / of the Reid Etin, and the Gyir Carling'. Those latter two texts are mentioned in a later sixteenth-century compendium, *The Complaynt of Scotland*, as examples of traditional, popular folktales which also interestingly survive in variants from nineteenth-century collections.[22]

There is, then, suggestive if scattered evidence pointing to a culture of storytelling for children and young people which precedes the demarcated timeframe of this volume. Whilst the nineteenth century period forms its core, it is bookended by the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to accommodate some of the changes, influences, and transformations which make for striking continuities in the development of children's literature in Scotland. Having this temporal breadth means, for example, that Barrie's iconic *Peter Pan*, discussed in several essays here, can be seen within a variety of contexts: late-nineteenth century and Edwardian politics of empire and gender as well as the heterogeneity of Victorian children's genres which he cites as his own formative reading, or 'memory-palace', in the famous authorial preface to the final published version of the play-text, *Peter Pan*.

It also enables us to see how children's periodical culture, and those journals which catered for younger tastes, which flourish in the middle part of the century (as explored in Shu-Fang Lai's chapter) have an interesting precedent in late Enlightenment Scotland. In addition to a philosophical and educational 'conduct book' tradition of advice to children and young people – epitomised, for example, by the Aberdeenshire-born writer, William Fordyce Mavor (1758–1837)[23] – Rhona Brown's essay demonstrates that there was significant interest in the question of young female education in periodical culture of the time. This in turn reflects a longstanding educational and philosophical debate about what books girls and boys might appropriately read (Paul Barnaby's essay on Walter Scott, for example, shows how he was considered 'healthful' and 'manly' formative reading material); and here it is partly manifest as a discussion of how a young woman's learning might give her visibility ('I was no longer disgusted by my own insignificancy'). This concern with the importance of young girls' education can

also be seen as a considerable driving force in writing for children and young people by Scottish women writers throughout the century. Elizabeth Hamilton (1758–1816), born in Belfast of Scottish heritage, and sent to live in Scotland with her aunt and uncle from the age of four, significantly published on the subject of young and female education from progressive perspectives.[24] The prolific series of historical romances for girls by Henrietta Keddie, who came from Cupar in Fife, and largely published under the pseudonym, Sarah Tytler (1827–1914), are underpinned by a striking concern for the educational and moral welfare of her young female protagonists.[25] This was reflected in a range of other writings for children and young people by Keddie such as *Papers for Thoughtful Girls* (1862) and *Sweet Counsel. A Book for Girls* (1866).[26] And the specific conduct advice and instruction for young women explored in Brown's chapter is conceptually linked to the later imaginative work of writers such as Mary Gordon, explored in Janet Powney and Jeremy Mitchell's chapter, and in Linda C. Middup's essay where intellectual, moral, and spiritual ideals for girls and young women are explored in the fiction of Catherine Sinclair and Dinah Mulock Craik.

This temporal range, too, enables us to recognise how specific cultural movements and impulses are galvanised throughout the long century. Much valuable work has been done on Scottish Romantic nationalism, antiquarianism, and the folk revival but the way in which their legacy has contributed to, and shaped, the emergence of children's literature deserves further exploration – Robert Chambers's *Fireside Stories,* for example, signals the long cultural gestation of stories from early modern popular culture to 'the nursery'. And the intersections between popular and oral cultures with literary traditions of children's writing is a vital theme of the volume, underpinning a number of essays including Linden Bicket's, Valentina Bold's, and Kirstie Blair's.

The volume's ampler and more inclusive vision also makes room for other voices to be heard. The enormous impact and influence of women writers in the creation of children's literature traditions more broadly has long been recognised but the vital role played by Scottish women writers needs to be further explored.[27] *Story-Books* marks a beginning in that process through individual chapters which consider work by Mary Gordon, Margaret

Oliphant, Violet Jacob, Jessie Saxby, Eleanor Stackhouse Atkinson, amongst others – the latter, of course, an American writer and the creator of one of the most iconic works of children's literature set in Scotland but curiously neglected in both critical traditions. There are significant others who could not be included within the limited scope of the volume. For example, although Sinclair is usually acknowledged as the earliest published children's writer in Scotland, the Ayrshire-born Grace Kennedy (1782–1825) deserves that claim too as the first of her six children's novels appeared in 1821. *Anna Ross. A Story for Children* is the narrative of a gentle and pious orphaned girl whose father is killed at the Battle of Waterloo; *Jessie Allan. The Lame Girl. A Story founded on facts* narrates the poignant life and death of the titular heroine set in Edinburgh. In almost fairytale-like fashion yet set within the realist context of Edinburgh poverty, her mother is wickedly neglectful of the fragile Jessie; but she discovers an alternate surrogate female family in the schoolmistresses and other charitable women who nurture her. All Kennedy's books are driven by an evangelical zeal, reflected in the hagiographical biographical account which appeared in the *Collected Works*: 'A short time before her departure from this world, she said to a beloved friend who attended her, that she now wished her friends to know that she released them from their promise of secrecy regarding her works'.[28] Lydia Mackenzie Falconer Miller (1812–76, wife of the writer and geologist, Hugh Miller of Cromarty) wrote children's books under the pseudonym 'Harriet Myrtle';[29] and their daughter, Harriet Miller Davidson, was a writer, too, who emigrated to Adelaide where she was in charge of a school.[30] Another prolific author of both fictional, non-fictional, and picture-books for children is 'Jeanie Hering' whose identity was Marian Adams-Acton (1846–1928), born on the island of Arran and the illegitimate daughter of the Duke of Hamilton.[31] Periodical and journal culture was frequently an outlet for children's writing by women: *The Girls' Own Paper,* for instance, was home to imaginative and non-fictional writing by Isabella Fyvie Mayo, or 'Edward Garrett' (1843–1914); born in London to Scottish parents, she lived as an adult in Aberdeen where she was an active and dynamic political campaigner on behalf of a number of radical causes.[32] These are individually fascinating writers who should be better known. And though they are here shored up

collectively as a body of children's writing by women, the aesthetic and political diversity of their literature is evident.

Indeed, it enables us to perceive the varied and multiform nature of this thing called 'children's literature'. Even in the material, technical terms of book design and production, children's literature varies across the century and, as a number of essays here remind us, illustration, and the interplay between word and image, was (as it still is) often a vital element. Collectively, these chapters range across folktales, folksongs, chapbook literature, nursery rhymes, theatre traditions, short story, conduct book, and periodical essay as the edges and boundaries between distinct genres blend and seep into one another. Kirstie Blair's chapter, for example, demonstrates the contemporary ambiguities surrounding the notion of what constitutes Victorian 'nursery verse', though she also suggests how continuities can be traced from the 1820s to Norah and William Montgomerie's well-known mid-twentieth-century collections of Scottish nursery rhymes. Collectively, the chapters' comparative range enables us to see how a particular mode is developed, forgotten, or resumed. In almost all its incarnations, *Peter Pan* is part of the trajectories of adventure story, romance, and fantasy. The fairy tale, for example, is not just the preserve of George MacDonald in his radical, visionary way (and, as Linden Bicket's essay explores, deeply folkloric, too) but it enjoys a rich life in children's chapbooks; in the ostensibly 'realist', domestic novel of Sinclair's *Holiday House*; and in the *fin-de-siècle* stories of Violet Jacob and Jessie Saxby. In the context of a publishing market in which the notion of a demarcated child-readership is complex and changing as the century progresses, Anne Marie Hagen shows how the children's adventure story in the hands of Thomas Nelson's publishing house is turned to educational and didactic purposes; and she points out that Ballantyne's adventure fictions of the 1850s were also seen as a pool of learning in terms of science, natural history, and geography. And as Paul Barnaby's chapter on Scott illustrates, individual writers themselves are sometimes transformed or reshaped in order to become the stuff of children's literature.[33]

Generic fluidity and hybridity are key in other ways too. Anne McKee Stapleton's essay reveals how the thematic significance of the child figure in Margaret Oliphant's short stories emerges through the interplay between

realism and aesthetics in her 'Gothic-tinged' narratives; the consequence is that her narratives bridge imaginative art forms just as the child characters within them act as vital, mediating 'portals' between worlds. The volume is therefore also preoccupied with the role of children as subjects too – with their representation in writing which purports to address them. How are children's voices heard and imagined in these texts? How, if at all, are processes of growth and transformation portrayed? How is the marginalised life of a child, or young adult, portrayed within the larger social and adult worlds enfolding them? These chapters offer some interesting insights from Stapleton's observation of 'mutual support' between children and women in Oliphant's stories to John Patrick Pazdziora's discussion of how the experience of loss is focalised through a child in one of MacDonald's novels to David Salter's analysis of how *Greyfriars Bobby* empathically portrays what it means be to a child by sensitivity to narrative point of view. Adam Kozaczka's essay also alludes to the materiality of late nineteenth-century childhood – its emporium of toy soldiers, exhibits, pageants, atlases, and maps.

There are also, however, more 'fixed' compass points which help to suggest how a particular tradition or culture of Scottish children's writing in the long nineteenth century might be nurtured. Distinctive publishing houses in Edinburgh and Glasgow[34] emerge as centres for the production and distribution of children's literature in the period, just as particular regional and local printers became the medium of Scottish chapbook literature. This is especially strong in the case of educational writing, and the marked visibility of this vein of literature can in part be related to the distinctive systems and modes of educational provision, schooling, and culture historically fostered in Scotland – though it is important to bear in mind how these varied widely between rural and city areas, and between Highland and Lowland regions. There are a significant number of important Scottish educational publishing houses; Anne Marie Hagen, for example, refers to Nelson's *Royal Readers* series first published in 1870. We can also see how patterns of distinctive educational traditions also intersect with prevailing religious culture, and the profound influence of denominations on Scottish schooling, dominated by connections mostly with the

established Church of Scotland but also by the Free Church, United Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism, and Catholicism. A strongly (but not exclusively or overwhelmingly) reformed or protestant culture leads to the production of children's literature by religious societies such as the Scottish Temperance League.

Another distinct kind of 'identity' – this time associated with the historical imagination – is also forged through the popularity of what might be termed 'national history writing' for children. This finds a variety of expression from Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather* (1828–31) to Margaret Oliphant's *A Child's History of Scotland* (1895). Historical figures such as William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, and Mary Queen of Scots,[35] partly shaped by Romantic influences which do so much to cement their iconic status, become engaging and appealing subjects for children's histories, having already been part of an inherited chapbook tradition. A nationally inflected historical imagination also underpins a variety of popular fictional books for children and young readers too. Such books, both non-fictional and imaginative, partly seek to foster an understanding or appreciation in their young readers of Scottish history and national identity through appealing, engaging ways of telling and imagining the past. Kate Mathis shows how Celtic Revivalist writers transmuted the heroic legends and characters of the Finn and Ulster cycles into stories for children; romanticised and idealised in the process, they still refracted the ideals of the Celtic Revival to a fresh generation of younger readers. There are other ways, too, in which Scottish children's literature expresses 'identity' through a 'smaller' lens. This can be found through evocations of the local and the specific – Edinburgh, for example, in *Greyfriars Bobby*; or in Jessie Saxby's fiction through the landscape of the Shetland islands where its distinctive topography in turn connects her readers to vividly imagined Viking worlds. The idea of 'localism', then, in Scottish children's literature is diverse, a means of enabling the child through the experience of place and space to 'access' what might either be intimate and familiar ('home'), or remote but nonetheless vividly particularised ('elsewhere').

Another vital means of doing this is, of course, through the specificity of language itself, whether through the medium of Gaelic-language literature

(explored in the essay by Sìm Innes and Kate Mathis), or through dialectal Scots. John Patrick Pazdziora's essay, for example, discusses the role of Scots in MacDonald's *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood*. Kirstie Blair's essay on children's poetry shows how the use of Scots language contributed to its distinctive, radical, and 'linguistically playful' qualities. These suggest how linguistic choice in pre-twentieth and twenty-first century children's writing more broadly needs further exploration; in contemporary culture the use of Scots as an imaginative and educational medium for children has been so richly opened up by Matthew Fitt, James Robertson, and Susan Rennie. Children's literature, then, has a specific dimension to add to our understanding of 'national narratives' and the role of cultural–linguistic identities in nineteenth-century Scottish literature. Whilst that lyric of Stevenson's which opened this essay, and many other texts, might be seen to evoke some kind of idealised or privileged space of nostalgia for children's literature, a number of essays in the volume suggest how 'political' or 'politicised' it might be too. This can be seen powerfully in the case of the reception and transmission of Gaelic-language literature following the suppression of the Gaelic language in the Scottish educational system after 1872. The essay by Sìm Innes and Kate Mathis shows how in the early twentieth-century Gaelic-language writers turned to playwriting for children as a vital means of communicating culture; drama rather than fiction or poetry was the natural medium for children 'who could speak but not read the language with ease'. Other essays explore how the themes of empire, colonisation, and identity twist through adventure and romance narratives for children; the ways in which gendered models of behaviour are both propagated, and subverted, by various children's writers; and the different means by which 'the children's book' can be a compelling means of exploring ethical and social questions, as David Salter's essay on *Greyfriars Bobby* and its 'strongly democratic impulse' reveals.

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The collection has been thematically divided into five sections; these are discrete but necessarily overlapping. The first, 'Constructions of Childhood', begins with Rhona Brown's essay, investigating the construction of the young

female subject in the flourishing periodical press of the later eighteenth century in order to explore how Enlightenment discourses conceived the purpose and import of child-education. This is complemented by Shu-Fang Lai's discussion of the early nineteenth-century periodical press by focussing on the ways in which Robert Chambers, the eminent Edinburgh educationalist, publisher, and antiquarian, conceived the idea of childhood, and spoke to a young readership, through a range of his periodical publications, essays and educational prefaces. Popular chapbook literature, a particularly important branch of late Romantic and Victorian Scottish culture, has rarely been explored from the perspective of the possibility of a children's chapbook tradition. Drawing on archival resources in Glasgow and Edinburgh, Valentina Bold's essay suggests that there are distinctive features to Scotland's chapbook heritage in terms of material produced especially for children; this significantly points to a popular and socially diverse body of reading for children. Childhood is also considered through the lens of Walter Scott's work in a chapter which explores the evidence for child readers of Scott's work, with the fashioning of Scott's own life as a 'primer' for children, and as a body of work which can be rewritten and reshaped for later generations; Scott's work therefore offers a fascinating trajectory by which to assess or evaluate the emergence of popular fiction and child readers. Sìm Innes and Kate Mathis present an in-depth exploration of literature composed for Scottish children in the Celtic Revival period – plays written in Gaelic to be performed by children by Catrìona NicGhille-Bhàin Ghrannd (Katherine Whyte Grant) and Calum MacPhàrlain (Malcolm MacFarlane), and stories composed in English drawn from the heroic narrative cycles by Eleanor Hull, William Sharp ('Fiona Macleod'), and Louise Charlotte Jack.

The cluster of essays which comprise part of the second section, 'Romance, Adventure, and Imperialism', take the genre of the child's adventure story as the starting point for a series of explorations into identity, gender, and politics as mediated or refracted through this popular medium. These essays by Rodney Fierce, Adam Kozascka, and Timothy Hayes necessarily revisit a gathering of familiar texts – for example, *Peter Pan* and *Treasure Island* – and explore the emergence of the boy's adventure story within an

indigenous tradition or distinctive heritage of Scottish adventure and romance. They also demonstrate how these texts might be interlinked by a process of rewriting and 'reimagining', and how these fictions of empire negotiate questions of Scottish identity (or rather identities; for example, Highland–Lowland; Anglo–Scots), language, and empire. Collectively, these essays suggest how these fictions, in their synthesising of various literary and cultural traditions, also contest figurations and assumptions of gender too. Hagen's essay enriches this section by exploring the specific cultural location of these types of fictions at the heart of the Edinburgh publishing house of Nelson, showing how the material imperatives of the marketplace help to influence and mould these children's fictions. And David Salter's essay explores how the apparent 'romance' of Eleanor Atkinson's iconic fictionalised biography *Greyfriars Bobby* (1912) belies not only its political sensibility but a sensitive portrayal of 'a child's understanding of, and relationship to, the world' in its portrayal of loss and love.

The next section, 'Child's Play', chiefly addresses the child protagonists in the work of Oliphant, Barrie, and MacDonald, touching on how this very subject is thematically woven into the aesthetic form or shape of the fiction itself. Anne McKee Stapleton's chapter shows how Oliphant's supernatural short stories, whilst not intended for a child readership, suggestively explore the perceptual capacities of the child-figure and, in so doing, articulate a capacity for emotional self-awareness in children. Caitlin Hansen's essay perceives *Peter Pan* through the lens of Shakespeare's influence, arguing that this has significant bearing on how Barrie reconceptualises the idea of childhood, and the figure of the child, at the end of the long nineteenth century. John Patrick Pazdziora explores how MacDonald's relatively neglected novel, *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood*, portrays a child's memory of death and mourning through a focus on how the novel purposefully situates this experience within Scottish landscape, language, and folklore (and MacDonald's folkloric dimension is picked up by Linden Bicket in Section Five in the context of his children's fantasy stories).

The fourth section on 'Moral and Spiritual Fictions' turns to the genre of ostensibly didactic writing for children, and instructive literary fictions, and explores the use of this mode by women writers: two are relatively

well-known (Oliphant and Catherine Sinclair) but there is also consideration of Mary Gordon, whose novels portray young people in situations of emotional and moral conflict, and of the English writer Dinah Mulock Craik who takes a traditional Scottish folktale and ballad as the seed or inspiration for her reimagined fiction. All these essays explore the convergence between moral and spiritual influences, and the emergence of female spirituality as an alternative moral ideal.

The book's final section is devoted to the mode of fantasy or the fantastic with a particular focus on fairytales. Fantasy, of course, has been considered a primary mode within Romantic and nineteenth-century Scottish literature but these essays offer a reconsideration of the literary and cultural impulses which shape the writing of children's fairytales. The traditional heritage of Scottish ballads is explored by Linden Bicket as the seed-bed of inspiration and importance for MacDonald, building on and refining the slender body of critical work on the 'Scottish' dimension of MacDonald's fairytale imagination. The neglected fairytale writing of women is the subject of Dunnigan's chapter which explores the influence of a European literary fairytale heritage on the work of Jessie Saxby, Violet Jacob, and others, traditional motifs of 'northernness', and the artistic experimentalism of women and Scottish fairytale artists in order to suggest an evocative confluence of interests. Hines's essay returns to Andrew Lang, who might be considered the 'father' of the literary fairytale collection, in order to pursue the process of 'canonisation' or 'marketing' of the fairytale books which famously grew to become one of the most loved and popular staples of children's literature.

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This Introduction has already referred to the imagined reader, who may be a child or older, in one of Stevenson's lyrics; and many of the essays in this volume discuss how children's lives are portrayed in both fictional and non-fictional writing. The last chapter in this book, based on archival work undertaken at Edinburgh's Museum of Childhood by the SELCIE project (*Scotland's Early Literature for Children Initiative,* founded in 2016),[36] offers a glimpse into the lives of some historically 'real' young readers. In three of these little pieces, Morgan Boharski, Danielle Howarth, and Joanna

Witkowska (three of the postgraduate researchers on the project) present a personal reflection on a single book, or several books, in which the traces of a readerly life and presence are embodied – a signature, a souvenir, a material remnant. In this way, the unique archive of children's literature in Scotland which the Museum of Childhood's extensive book archive points to the 'lived' historical experience of the 'child's book' in Scotland. Lyn Stevens's piece vividly illustrates the local yet forgotten dimensions of Scottish children's writing unearthed by the archive in her discussion of Annie S. Swan's *Thomas Dryburgh's Dream. A Story of The Sick Children's Hospital*. It is also an apt way for the volume to conclude – returning us to the material world of the book, the promise of the archive, and discovering yet another path into that capacious 'Land of Story-Books' which has only begun to be charted.

Notes

1 'My Kingdom', Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Child's Garden of Verses*, illustrated by Charles Robinson (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1990), a facsimile edition reproduced from 1896, p. 85.

2 'The Little Land', ibid, p. 99.

3 'Block City', ibid, p. 92.

4 For a representative sample of criticism of Stevenson's collection, see Rebecca Lukens, 'Stevenson's Garden: Verse is Verse', in *The Lion and the Unicorn: A Critical Journal of Children's Literature*, 4.2 (1980–1981 Winter): 49–55; Elizabeth Waterston, 'Going for Eternity: A Child's Garden of Verses', in *Canadian Children's Literature/Littérature Canadienne pour la Jeunesse*, 96.25 [4] (1999 Winter): 5–10; Lucy Rollin, 'Through A Child's Garden toward a Neurological Aesthetic of Children's Literature', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 27.2 (2002 Summer): 71–76; Ann C. Colley, 'Writing Towards Home: Landscape in *A Child's Garden of Verses*' in *Victorian Poetry*, 35.3 (1997 Fall): 303–18; Jean Webb, 'Conceptualising Childhood: Robert Louis Stevenson's A Child's Garden of Verses', in *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 32.3 (2002): 359–65; Michael Rosen, 'Robert Louis Stevenson and Children's Play: The Contexts of *A Child's Garden of Verses*', in *Children's Literature in Education: An International Quarterly*, 26.1 (1995 Mar): 53–72; Dimitrios Politis, 'The Poetics of Childhood or the Construction of Lost Innocence: R. L. Stevenson's Verses for Children', *International Journal of the Book*, 4.1 (2007): 97–103.

5 It is impossible in the limited space here to provide a comprehensive listing of work in the last five years on MacDonald, Barrie, and Stevenson but for an indicative recent sample see (on MacDonald) *Behind the Back of the North Wind*, edited by John Pennington and Roderick McGillis (Hamden, CT: Winged Lion, 2011); William Gray, *Fantasy, Art and Life: Essays on George MacDonald, Robert Louis Stevenson and Other Fantasy Writers* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011); Schmitz, Kathryn, 'The Transformation from Law to Spirit in The Princess and the Goblin', in *North Wind: Journal of George*

MacDonald Studies, 34 (2015): 58–68; Pallabi Gupta, 'The Female Explorer and the Child Wanderer in George MacDonald's "The Day Boy and the Night Girl" and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*', in *North Wind: Journal of George MacDonald Studies*, 35 (2016): 4–20; Carla Elizabeth Whytock, 'Understanding the Self through Recognition and Mortality: MacDonald's Portrayals of Identity in His Fairy Tales for Children', in *North Wind: Journal of George MacDonald Studies*, 35 (2016): 68–88. On Barrie, see (for example) *Second Star to the Right: Peter Pan in the Popular Imagination*, edited by Allison B. Kavey, Allison B. and Lester D. Friedman (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009); Jonathan Padley, 'Peter Pan: Indefinition Defined', *Lion and the Unicorn*, 36:3 (2012), pp. 274–87; Carey Mickalites, 'Fairies and a Flâneur: J. M. Barrie's Commercial Figure of the Child', in *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts*, 54:1 (2012): 1–27; Mary Gryctko, 'The Romance of the Nursery': Lost Boys and Deadly Femininity in *The Turn of the Screw* and *Peter Pan*', in *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 41.2 (2016): 142–57; Kirsten Stirling, 'Transforming the Pantomime Formula in J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*', in *European Journal of English Studies*, 20.1 (2016): 83–94; Bonnie Gaarden, 'Flight Behavior: Mr Darling and Masculine Models in J. M. Barrie's *Peter and Wendy*', in *Children's Literature: Annual of The Modern Language Association Division on Children's Literature and The Children's Literature Association*, 45 (2017): 69–91. On Stevenson's *Treasure Island* see (for example), Alexandra Valint, 'The Child's Resistance to Adulthood in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*: Refusing to Parrot', in *English Literature in Transition 1880–1920*, 58.1 (2015): 3–29; Eleanor Reeds, 'Transatlantic Elegies for Boyhood: First-Person Adventure Narratives after 1865', in *Lion and the Unicorn*, 41.1 (2017): 61–78; Richard J. Hill, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Pictorial Text: A Case Study in the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (London: Routledge, 2017). On Ballantyne, see (for example) John Morgenstern, 'The Mother of Boys' Adventure Fiction? Reassessing Catharine Parr Traill's Canadian Crusoes and R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*', *Lion and the Unicorn*, 39.3 (2015 Sept): 294–310; David Agruss, 'Boys Gone Wild: Island Stranding, Cross-Racial Identification, and Metropolitan Masculinity in R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*', in *Victorian*, 1.1 (2013): 1–19; Grace Moore, 'Pirates for Boys: Masculinity and Degeneracy in R. M. Ballantyne's Adventure Novels', in *Pirates and Mutineers of the Nineteenth Century: Swashbucklers and Swindlers*, edited by Grace Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 165–79.

6 Maureen Farrell, 'Culture and Identity in Scottish Children's Fiction', unpub. PhD, University of Glasgow, 2008; 'The lost boys and girls of Scottish children's fiction', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, edited by Ian Brown, Thomas Clancy, Susan Manning, and Murray Pittock, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), vol 3, pp. 198–206; Maureen Farrell, '"To see oursels as others see us": the imaging of children in a selection of Scottish children's historical fiction', *Journal of Children's Literature Studies,* 4 (2) (2007), pp. 37–53.

7 *Treasure Islands. A guide to Scottish fiction for young readers aged 10–14,* edited by James Alison and Ronald Renton (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2003). For a brief survey or historical account of Scottish children's literature, see also Stuart Hannabuss, *The International Companion Encyclopaedia of Children's Literature,* edited by Peter Hunt (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 688–91.

8 Jim Alison, 'Towards an Overview of Scottish Children's Literature from 1823 to 2010',

in *The Bottle Imp,* 7 (2010), pp. 1–5 (1). For a brief survey or historical account of Scottish children's literature, see also Hannabuss, op. cit., pp. 688–91.

9 Fiona McCulloch, *Contemporary British Children's Fiction and Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2016).

10 There have been a number of book-length studies of children's literature in relation to questions of national and cultural identities across a range of cultures: for example, Rebecca Knuth, *Children's Literature and British Identity* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012); Elizabeth Galway, *From Nursery Rhymes to Nationhood. Children's Literature and the Construction of Canadian Identity* (London: Routledge, 2011); Margaret Meek, *Children's Literature and National Identity* (London: Trentham Books, 2001). In terms of the relationship between national identity and Scottish writing for children and young adults, see Maureen Farrell's work; and Fiona McCulloch, *Contemporary British Children's Fiction and Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge, 2016).

11 There is an enormous scholarly literature on this subject but for an excellent summation see Kimberley Reynolds, *Children's Literature. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 1–5; Reynolds summarises Marah Gubar's judicious essay, 'On not defining children's literature', *PMLA*, 126 (2011): 209–16, thus – 'Gubar details the problems that have resulted in a series of failed attempts to define children's literature, suggests a definition is unnecessary for good scholarship, and proposes that such efforts be abandoned' (p. 27). See also book-length studies by Fiona McCulloch, *Children's Literature in Context* (London: Continuum, 2011); M. O. Grenby, *Children's Literature. Edinburgh Critical Guides to Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

12 For notable exceptions, see the collections by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent, *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and Nugent and Ewan (eds), *Children and Youth in Pre-Modern Scotland* (Boydell and Brewer, 2015).

13 See the National Library of Scotland's online information about their rare book holdings of children's literature: 'Children's books in Scotland before 1700', www.nls.uk/collections/rare-books/collections/childrens-books.

14 *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. W. M. Metcalfe (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1896), vol. 1, p. 275, ll. 659–61 [orthography modernised].

15 R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity. Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 132.

16 Lindy Moore, 'Urban Schooling in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Scotland', in *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* edited by Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman and Lindsay Paterson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), p. 84. Moore points out that young children often learnt from a hornbook: a page from the alphabet, prayers, or numerals might be 'pasted onto a wooden frame and covered with transparent sheet of horn to protect it from grubby fingers' (p. 85).

17 Houston, p. 167; see also Edward J. Cowan and Mike Paterson (eds), *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage, 1750–1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007); and Kirsteen Connor's excellent unpublished thesis, *Youth's poison?: The creation and evolution of children's chapbooks in Scotland, 1800–1870,* unpub. MPhil(R) thesis, University of Glasgow (2010).

18 *Tom Thumb, his life and death wherein is declared many marvellous acts of manhood, full of wonder and strange merriment: which little knight lived in King Arthur's time, in the Court of Great-Britain.*
19 An edition of the *Fables* of Phaedrus was published in Edinburgh by A. Jameson 'for the use of schools and academies, where that author is read' in 1817.
20 *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c. 1670–c. 730*, ed. David George Mullan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 386–87.
21 *Sir David Lyndsay: Selected Poems*, edited by Janet Hadley Williams (Glasgow: Association of Scottish Literary Studies, 2001), p. 1, ll. 8–11.
22 See Sarah Dunnigan, 'The Early Modern Period', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Traditional Literatures,* edited by Dunnigan and Suzanne Gilbert (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 63–73
23 For example, *The Youth's Miscellany, or a Father's Gift to his Children* (1797); *The Young Gentleman's and Lady's Magazine*, 2 vols, 1799.
24 See, for example, *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education* (1801–2); *Letters Addressed to the Daughters of a Nobleman* (1806); *Examples of questions calculated to excite and exercise the infant mind* (1815). She is best known for her novel, *The Cottagers of Glenburnie;* see Pam Perkins, 'Hamilton, Elizabeth (1756?–1816)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
25 Under the name of Sarah Tytler, Keddie famously collaborated with Jean Logan Watson (1835–1885) in the remarkable two-volume publication, *The Songstresses of Scotland* (1871).
26 See Rosemary Mitchell, 'Keddie, Henrietta (1827–1914)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).
27 An exception is Kate Calder, 'Scottish Women Writing for Children', in *Chapman: Scotland's Quality Literary Magazine*, 77 (1994), pp. 21–27.
28 'Account of the Author', *The Works of Grace Kennedy* (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant & Son, 1834), vol 1, p. xiii. For more information, see also 'Introductory Essay', The Hockliffe Project, hockcliffe.dmu.ac.uk/items/0154.html
29 Cf. Elizabeth Sutherland, *Lydia: Wife of Hugh Miller of Cromarty* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2002); she wrote prolifically from 1845 onwards. See Marian McKenzie Johnston, 'Miller, Lydia Mackenzie Falconer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women,* p. 265
30 W. G. Blaikie, rev. Pam Perkins, 'Davidson, Harriet Miller (1839–1883)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women,* p. 265. *Lines for Little Lips* was published in Edinburgh in 1856; *The Two Babies. A sketch of every-day life. By a mother* in London in 1859.
31 Siobhan Peiffer, 'Acton, Marion Jean Catherine Adams', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (*Oxford University Press, 2004); Anna Pickering, *Victorian Sidelights. From the papers of the late Mrs Adams-Acton* (London, 1954)
32 *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women,* pp. 261–62. Cf. 'Aberdeen Protest Blog', aberdeenprotest.wordpress.com/2017/01/08/isabella-fyvie-mayo-novelist-and-activist-1843-1914/
33 See also Bruce Beiderwell and Anita Hemphill McCormick, 'The Making and Unmaking of a Children's Classic: The Case of Scott's Ivanhoe', in *Culturing the Child, 1690–1914: Essays in Memory of Mitzi Myers* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, with Children's Literature Association, 2005), pp. 165–77; Martin Procházka, 'From Romantic Folklorism to

Children's Adventure Fiction: Walter Scott in Czech Culture', in. Murray Pittock *et al* (eds), *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 173–89.

34 See Bill Bell (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland,* vol 3, Ambition and Industry 1800–80 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

35 See, for example, Lynne Vallone, 'History Girls: Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Historiography and the Case of Mary, Queen of Scots', in *Children's Literature*, 36 (2008): 1–23.

36 For further information see edin.ac/selcie hosted by the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Edinburgh, in conjunction with The Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh.

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I. CONSTRUCTIONS OF CHILDHOOD

1. Educating the Female Child: Debates from the Scottish Periodical Press in Enlightenment Scotland, 1750–1800

RHONA BROWN

Throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, education is a key, almost obsessive, topic of discussion in the newspapers, journals and magazines which contributed to the burgeoning of the Scottish periodical press.[1] The marked rise in journal articles on the subject, seen particularly in the 1780s and 1790s, undoubtedly reflects the Enlightenment's concern with instruction, pedagogy, and learning.[2] The work of certain philosophers, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), Adam Smith (1723–90), and James Beattie (1735–1803), is alluded to with respectful frequency. Other, more recent authors with a stake in education are, however, treated with ambivalence and sometimes downright disdain. The letters of recently-deceased peers who wrote on the subject, including those of George Lyttleton, first Baron Lyttleton (1709–73), and Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), are quoted from by deferential authors, but they are also ridiculed and, on one significant occasion, parodied when, in *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany*, Chesterfield's instructive *Letters to his Son* (1737–68) are turned on their heads in terms of gender. In the issue dated July 1798, 'A Parody of Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son' appears, and begins with a question: 'It can never be sufficiently lamented by philosophers, that the late Earl of Chesterfield […] should not have left us a system of education for a daughter as well as for a son: or rather may we not regret that his lordship's amours were not crowned with a perfect exemplar of each sex?'[3] The author goes on to 'paraphrase every letter for the use of young ladies'.[4]

While education, regardless of the gender of the pupil, remains a popular theme for journal discussions throughout the eighteenth century in Scotland,

the 1780s and 1790s also witness a shift in emphasis towards female education in particular.[5] Authors are engaged in discussions regarding appropriate topics for girls and what they should and (more importantly) should not read, but also about practical instruction methods and 'useful learning'. In addition, the published work of female authors on education has a prominent position. Alongside extracts from Vicesimus Knox's *Liberal Education: or, a Practical Treatise on the Methods of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning* (1781),[6] and Lord Salisbury's directions to his son,[7] appear selections and reviews of the remarks on female education by Hannah More (1745–1833), Elizabeth Hamilton (?1756–1816), Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97) and Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849), among others.[8]

Beyond this 'official', published discussion of female education is the debate between editors, readers and correspondents of the Scottish periodical press, which offers a wide-ranging response to the work of pedagogical scholars. It reflects the fact that, in the last fifty years of the eighteenth century, existing modes of female education were being profoundly challenged. It also reflects women's arguably impossible contemporary position: while women are regularly ridiculed as frivolous beings taught only in the 'pretty' but useless aspects of life including dress, music and drawing, 'learned women' are, on the other hand, often treated with scorn by commentators of both sexes. While young women are often dismissed as giddily ignorant, they are also to be moulded into wives and mothers; to be the teachers of family morality. This chapter traces some significant contributions to the debate on young female education in the Scottish periodical press in the latter half of the eighteenth century in order to demonstrate that the 'unofficial' debate on female education is revealing, not only of attitudes to women and female education in the late 1700s, but also of the political, philosophical, domestic and literary contexts of Enlightenment Scotland. If, as Katharine Glover states, 'when it comes to lived experience, the historiography of women's education in eighteenth-century Britain is surprisingly thin',[9] periodical debates help illuminate the everyday education of Scottish women in the 1700s which, in turn, moulded contemporary ideas of girlhood.

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A significant series of articles on the subject of young female education is published in James Anderson's Edinburgh publication, *The Bee, or Weekly Intelligencer*, between 8 June and 25 August 1791. These pieces, primarily (and ostensibly) written by 'Sophia', consider the educational obstacles faced by eighteenth-century women and outline a successful but radical method for educating girls in the home. 'Sophia's' series was itself prompted by a number of letters on the subject of idleness which had been published in *The Bee* by 'Albanicus' and others from early May onwards. In the opening letter, 'Albanicus' states that in Britain, many privileged individuals 'think themselves entitled to be idle'.[10] The theme continues in *The Bee* dated 25 May 1791 with 'The History of a Fortunate Idler',[11] which responds to 'Albanicus's' accusations declaring that, although he is 'idle', being the heir to a large estate and 'having no trade or employment in the common acception of the term', he is nevertheless 'one of the busiest, and consequently one of the happiest men in the world'.[12]

A female response approaches the topic of privileged inactivity from a sharply contrasting perspective. 'On the Art of Idleness, by a Lady', published in *The Bee* on 8 June 1791,[13] gives an account of the author's upbringing as well as her movement from idleness to tranquillity. Her description of her early education raises many of the issues that are reflected across the writings on female education in the Scottish periodical press in general:

> I was sent, in compliance with the abominable fashion of the times, to a London boarding-school, where […] I contrived to be as idle as my heart could almost desire, but learnt to relish dress, dancing, plays, and other places of public amusement; and, at fifteen, I came home thoroughly furnished unto all the works of idleness, but without a single atom of that sense or experience which is necessary to regulate my conduct in real life.[14]

The subtext of this section reflects on the acquisition (or lack) of 'useful knowledge', berating the 'abominable fashion' for boarding schools and the education offered therein, with 'female' pursuits including fashion, dancing, and theatre emphasised before 'experience' for 'real life'. It is only after being

widowed that this 'Lady', newly introduced to 'some degree of seclusion from gay society', 'had courage enough to begin, and follow out a plan of female education'.[15] She then finds that 'a knowledge of grammar increased my pleasure in reading', but is careful to delineate that 'Novels, at least *the trash* dignified by that name in Britain, gave me no more delight'.[16] Notwithstanding the 'Lady's' denigration of novels – common in popular discussions of female education – the effect of 'useful' learning is profound: 'I was no longer disgusted by my own insignificancy, and no longer brooded over my disappointments'.[17] She emphasises here the transformative effect of education via a quietly persistent belief in female ability.

'On the Art of Idleness' is the first of a number of articles on female education by a correspondent soon known as 'Sophia'. Although 'Sophia' remained anonymous in the pages of *The Bee*, further publications and annotations on printed copies of the periodical shed light on the author's identity. Contributions to *The Bee* by 'Albanicus', the 'Fortunate Son of Idleness', 'Sophia' and, as shown below, 'Philogunos' among others, appear in David Stewart Erskine's (1742–1829) collection of his own writings, *The Anonymous and Fugitive Essays of the Earl of Buchan* (1812).[18] The preface explains its purpose: 'The Earl of Buchan, considering his advanced age, has thought it proper to publish this volume, and to meditate the publication of others, containing his anonymous writings; that no person may hereafter ascribe to him any others than are by him, in this manner, avowed, described, or enumerated.'[19] Although two of *The Bee*'s essays on female education have been attributed to Erskine,[20] the relevant articles as they appear in the 'British Periodicals Collection' are annotated in ink with 'L^{d} Buchan' or simply 'L^{d} B'.[21] These sources indicate that, as well as being the author of texts by 'Sophia', Erskine's was the pen behind the entire series of articles in *The Bee* on female education. If it is initially disappointing that a woman was not the author of these progressive pieces, Erskine's projection was, according to Arianne Chernock, a 'stunning vision of the social revolution, or "instauratio magna" as he put it, that would ensue once women began to receive an education "in no way differing from that of men"'.[22]

'Sophia' contributes five pieces to *The Bee*, the first being 'Education of Young Ladies', published on 22 June 1791.[23] She begins with the complaint that prompted her meditations: 'It is an astonishing fact […] that the education of women has never been made the subject of serious enquiry by any of the myriad of scribblers that have infested the public of letters'.[24] Alongside her dismissal of periodicals 'scribblers' comes a complaint against contemporary journals, including the *World*, *Connoisseur*, *Rambler*, *Mirror* and *Observer*, that 'you will find nothing but strictures upon the unhappy consequences of a bad education of the sex, but not one syllable of serious good sense on the subject of amendment'.[25] 'Sophia's' complaint reflects common prejudices against women found throughout Scottish periodicals, but is unusual in that she offers practical solutions to their educational predicament. Although appreciating the efforts of John Gregory, the renowned author of *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774), and Jonathan Swift's *Letter to a Young Lady on her Marriage* (1723) in the advancement of female education, the problem, she argues, is one of chauvinism:

> The faults that have been uniformly ascribed to our sex, as arising from the feebleness of our frame, our attachment to sensual pleasures in preference to those of the understanding, superstition, bigotry in religion, love of admiration directed to our personal charms only, impatience of contradiction, inability to give reasons for our moral or political conduct, attachment to the splendor of dress, excessive curiosity to discover secrets, and excessive desire of prying into the trifling business of our acquaintance, love of public shows of all kinds in our youth, and attachment to card playing in our old age, &c. &c. All these faults, Sir, are evidently the consequence of the want of substantial knowledge acquired by regular education, and are equally incident to ill educated men.[26]

The roll-call of female 'faults' is echoed throughout debates about women in these periodicals. However, 'Sophia's' conclusion, that the effects of ineffectual education are the same for both genders is, to borrow Chernock's

phraseology, revolutionary. Accordingly, and alluding to the ongoing events of the French Revolution, 'Sophia' expresses a hope which is politically and pedagogically radical:

> The rights of men now begin to be every where felt, understood and vindicated; by the by I would fain hope, the rights of our sex will be equally understood, and established on the basis of a new code of education, suited to the dignity and importance of our situation in society […] Women will then perhaps receive an education no way differing from that of men, in all things relating to the cultivation of the rational powers of the understanding.[27]

This universal education means that a 'female professor in a college, as at Bologna, will no longer be mentioned as a solecism nor Macaulays, Montagues, Carters or Blackburnes[28] be stared at as wonders, or envied by the ladies, or laughed at by the gentlemen'.[29] Just as the effects of 'ill' education are the same for both sexes, so too are those of 'good' education. Although 'learned ladies' are often sneered at in periodicals debates, this author looks forward to the day when they are no longer regarded as freaks of nature. Perhaps realising the (for some, unpalatable) radicalism of her ideas, however, 'Sophia' pauses with what is, ironically, another radical statement: 'But perhaps I am running here a little before the spirit of the times. I therefore check my career a little, to take the view of the world as it goes at present'.[30]

In her ensuing letters, 'Sophia' describes the way in which she educates her daughters and, in time, other pupils.[31] In the essay, 'On Female Education', published in *The Bee* on 29 June 1791,[32] she introduces the players in her treatise, with each name significant for her rhetorical purpose. Alongside mother 'Sophia', whose name signifies 'wisdom', is father 'Eugenius' and eldest daughter 'Alathea', who stands for 'verity'. 'Eugenius' is as progressive as his wife, with his recommendation that Sophia makes her daughters 'like yourself. You will then establish a foundation for the happiness of the men who shall have them for wives or mothers; and if they shall never be married, they will become respectable useful women'.[33] 'Eugenius' here takes due consideration of the principal role of female education as witnessed in the

periodical press more widely, that it readies women for future roles as wives and mothers; but is equally sympathetic to unmarried women, confident of the 'respectable' and 'useful' roles they can play in society.

'Sophia's' next article is published on 3 July 1791.[34] It continues a description of her teaching methods in her 'academy (as I may so say)',[35] as well as outlining objections to her occupation. Upon the visit of a maiden sister-in-law, Mrs Grizzel, 'Sophia' is subjected to the disapproval of an unprogressive world with Grizzel's bald statement: 'I think giving young ladies a learned education very preposterous'.[36] With that, she 'ended the conversation, by saying, she had done what she thought her duty, and should remain silent for the future on the subject of female education'.[37] The character of Grizzel is implicitly dismissed as a victim of 'ill' education; as one of those who would scoff at 'learned ladies'. As 'Eugenius' comforts 'Sophia', he urges her to 'bear with the prejudices of my sister; they are the prejudices of a whole world, but they will be gradually removed, and can be removed only by the success of experiments such as those in which you are now engaged'.[38] 'Sophia's' educational 'experiments' signify practical Enlightenment improvement in action: although they will face 'prejudice', the force of progress is, for Erskine's characters, irresistible. Accordingly, with 'Sophia's' instruction 'in grammar, in the languages, and in the sciences, in the belles lettres, and in the beaux arts'[39] alongside 'the principles of the Christian religion; all of which important knowledge I infused […] without the trammels of pedantic institutions',[40] her six female pupils 'became on a par with any six boys that had ever passed through the hands of any professor'.[41] As has been consistent throughout 'Sophia's' meditations, equality is key.

By this point, 'Sophia' was occupying a regular place in *The Bee*; indeed, we know from his *Anonymous and Fugitive Essays* that Erskine made fifty-five contributions, on various subjects and far beyond that of female education, to *The Bee* between 1791 and 1793. What comes next is a response to 'Sophia's' writings by 'Philogunos', or 'lover of women', published in *The Bee* on 20 July 1791 and which is also Erskine's work.[42] 'Philogunos' congratulates 'Sophia' on her methods: 'I contemplate this system as the most important branch of that *instauratio magna* which will take place in human society hereafter, and which in many respects is already begun'.[43] With this

allusion to the work of Francis Bacon, Erskine engages in pseudonymous self-referentiality. Not only does he endorse his own ideas in 'Sophia's' work, but his borrowing of the phrase '*instauratio magna*' refers to another of his interests which would find an outlet in *The Bee*: his 'Fragments of Lord Bacon' appears in the magazine in seven parts between 6 March and 9 October 1793. Most importantly, however, he advocates radical change in women's education.

Buoyed by this support, 'Sophia' continues in *The Bee* of 27 July 1791[44] with a focus on her eldest daughter, 'Alathea', and her position as heir to the estate. The needs of other pupils are also considered, so that 'Sophia' is able to tailor her instruction to the likely future prospects of each scholar under her care. This she does 'not theoretically, with books and treatises in my hand […] but I looked every day, and every where, into the great and patent book of common life […] that from thence I might draw rules, founded upon experience, to direct me'.[45] 'Sophia's' appeal to 'common sense' philosophy is clear enough, but so is her rejection of 'the systems of a Locke, a Rousseau, [or] a Priestly'. This approach, rather than demonstrating 'Sophia's' humility as a domestic educator, in fact empowers her girls by 'giving them such intellectual powers […] as might excite farther curiosity, and fit them for being what is commonly called ladies of distinction, or ladies of independent fortune'.[46] Gone is the striving to be a good wife and mother, replaced by a drive for educational and financial independence.

'Sophia's' final letter to *The Bee*, published on 25 August 1791,[47] focuses on Scottish musical culture, a much-discussed topic in contemporary periodicals and of interest to the antiquarian Erskine. When 'Alathea' professes an 'exceeding' love of 'pretty Scotch airs',[48] 'Sophia' resolves to let her 'hear all the finest Scotch ballads sung in the same manner you like, by a capital performer; but first you will study the old words of these beautiful songs'.[49] While many periodical commentators bemoan the emphasis in customary female education on the attainment of French at the expense of native grammar, 'Sophia' advocates a thorough education in Scottish culture in addition to her carefully enumerated curriculum. Indeed, 'Sophia' echoes a common contemporary complaint against the dilution of Scottish airs by Italian composers when she insists that foreign interventions be disregarded:

'I keep Italian ballads out of the way, till she has fed sufficiently on the real genius of that beautiful soft tongue'.[50] Alongside knowledge of 'the world', 'Alathea' profoundly understands her own culture.

'Sophia' closes her final contribution to *The Bee* with a shrewdly self-deprecating plea for the future of young female education, implicitly based on her own methods:

> I am experimentally convinced that there can be but one objection to the plan I have done myself the honour to describe […] which is the old adage of, "*Let us hear of no projects, no changes*." "*Why should we know more than our worthy grandmothers and aunts?*" The British constitution of government is perfect; it must be perfect, for Mr Burke has shewn the impossibility of altering it. The British constitution on the education of women must therefore be perfect, as part of the wonderful whole.[51]

This rhetorically efficient ending, which challenges naysayers such as Grizzel and demonstrates its own truth 'experimentally', not only advocates wider, more regulated education for eighteenth-century Scottish women, but demands its inclusion in the British constitution. These idealistic but progressive essays, written by Erskine in the guise of a female embodiment of educational wisdom, make constructions of female incompetence ridiculous, bringing the '*instauratio magna*' of universal education into clearer, more practical focus.

Many of 'Sophia's' concerns are echoed and challenged in the wider contemporary Scottish periodical press. The majority of commentators support her forward-looking views, but others are bound by customary prejudices. There is, however, one further contribution to *The Bee* by an unknown author on the topic of female education which in some ways conforms to Erskine's progressive planning. 'Thoughts on Female Studies', published in *The Bee* on 2 January 1793,[52] addresses two issues from 'Sophia's' meditations: the treatment of 'learned ladies' and suitable female reading. Like Erskine, this author is dismissive of those who would ridicule educated women, stating that this prejudice has done more 'than any thing I know,

of preventing women from bestowing some application on studies of an instructive and rational nature; such studies as, without doubt, they have as much capacity to comprehend, and as much discernment to relish, as the other sex'.[53] Despite this, women should avoid novels, which the author considers 'an unprofitable species of reading; and though I do not think, with some moralists, that even the common run of novels are hurtful to virtue, yet […] they are unfavourable to good taste'.[54] This moderate commentator rejects the view that novels degrade the reader's morality but nevertheless associates women with the upholding of 'good taste'.

Contributions to *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* follow a similar path, and 'On the Education and Studies of Women',[55] published in February 1797, looks forward and backward at the same time. While the author concedes that women 'have been but half instructed',[56] he also argues that their attention has too often 'been distracted by subordinate pursuits' and that they acquire knowledge 'for the purpose of ostentation'. This advocacy of female education is double-edged. For this author, 'the grand object of life is to be happy'. For women, though, happiness is inextricably linked with morality: 'No woman can be happy in society who does not preserve the peculiar virtues of the sex'.[57] Indeed, the woman who transcends her ordained boundaries is a nuisance who is unaware of her true role in society:

> You dislike in the female sex that daring spirit which despises the common forms of society, and which breaks though the delicacy and reserve of female manners. So do I. And the best method to make my pupil respect these things is to shew her how they are indispensably connected to the largest interests of society, and their highest pleasures.[58]

Despite the author's concession that, 'Many things, which were thought to be above their comprehension, or unsuited to their sex, have now been found to be perfectly within the compass of their abilities',[59] he asserts that female education should be directed towards making girls better, more virtuous wives and mothers. Valued here are 'the pleasures which men of genius and literature enjoy in a union with women who can sympathize in

all their thoughts and feelings […] who can assist them in the important and delightful duty of educating their children; who can make their family their most agreeable society, and their home the attractive centre of happiness'.[60] While female learning is attainable, women are to remain within the boundaries of the domestic sphere, and their accomplishments aimed at the moral improvement of their children. Education may be desirable but, in this account, women are to know their limits. This father does 'not desire to make my daughter a musician, a painter, or a poetess; I do not desire to make her a botanist, a mathematician, or a chymist'.[61] Rejecting customary 'frivolous' education as well as 'progressive' female learning, this author keeps women firmly in the status quo of domestic virtue and morality.

The need to preserve female decency is continued in a later contribution to *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* of July 1803, signed 'T.N.' and entitled 'Observations on the Corruptions of Literature'.[62] This piece begins with criticism of educational works by Maria Edgeworth and William Godwin, and states that by their methods the pupil is 'cheated into knowledge, and at the age of twenty be surprised […] to find himself a man of learning'.[63] Part of the problem with contemporary education, the author argues, is the novel. Excepting the work of Richardson, Fielding and Goldsmith, he claims that in contemporary novels, 'Fact and experience are neglected, and expectation stands on tiptoe'.[64] While this is generally damaging, it is more so for young females who, being beguiled by fiction, are tempted to neglect their role as guardians of domestic morality: 'Young girls who love to inhabit the little fairy world, which novelists love to create, are apt to return to this "dim spot, which men call earth", with restlessness and disgust',[65] while novel-reading attacks 'the institutions and maxims of well regulated society'.[66] As a representative of those writers who are 'enemies of the most dangerous and deadly character', Mary Wollstonecraft is singled out and her *The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria* (1798) dismissed as being 'contrived […] to exemplify the degradation and slavery of women in the married state'.[67] Rather than criticise her philosophy, however, the author engages in personal attack:

> She had a platonic affection for Mr Fuseli, some arrangements with a certain Mr Imlay, and a philosophic affair with Mr Godwin.

> Notwithstanding all this, Mary was not perfectly happy; for twice she attempted to steal out of being, once by hemp or steel, and once, in an orgasm of disgust threw herself into the Thames.[68]

Unorthodox by contemporary standards Wollstonecraft's life may have been, but this damning account of a 'learned woman' demonstrates a rejection of the progressive strategies put forward by Erskine and an implicit conflation of female happiness with male companionship. The author casts Wollstonecraft as a child stamping her feet in a temper – because Fuseli, Imlay, and Godwin did not make her 'perfectly happy', she attempts suicide. 'Observations on the Corruptions of Literature' brutally ridicules the 'learned woman' while reinforcing the view that a woman's place is at the centre of a virtuous and conventional domestic sphere.

An earlier but equally satirical piece, entitled 'A New Mode of Education Proposed to the Ladies', appears in *The Edinburgh Weekly Magazine* on 23 January 1777.[69] This article 'advertises' a new seminary run by 'Mademoiselle D'Epine', whose name is significant in itself, translating loosely as 'young woman of the thorn', and perhaps alluding to her role as the proverbial 'thorn' in the side of respectable morality. In any case, her seminary offers an experience in which 'a young lady leaving her hotel shall be as perfectly ignorant of every thing which the *bourgeoisie* would call useful, as upon the day of her birth.'[70] As well as these practicalities, D'Epine's pupils are to be rendered 'insensible of shame, and incapable of blushing by the age of seven years'.[71] This allusion to girls' lack of embarrassment is taken to extreme conclusions by the author, who gradually reveals that D'Epine means to train the girls in sex, and her 'seminary' is nothing more than a brothel. In a distorted echo of 'Sophia's' care for the attention of each girl and her likely future path, this author states that, in D'Epine's school, 'Such young ladies as are intended for gentlemen in the church, will be permitted to read Solomon's Song, that they may not be inferior to their husbands in divinity'.[72] As well as being trained in 'fashion', where the girls are instructed 'to bare every part of their persons alternately'[73] to keep ahead of trends, they are to master 'the science of man-catching' as well as 'the art of tormenting, duping and ruining an husband'.[74]

This uncompromising piece, which reaches its 'moral' when it states that 'chastity is now completely exploded in modern education',[75] offers a sneeringly negative response to plans for female education in private seminaries, and harbours some inflexible views on the relationship between the sexes, while echoing the concerns of other periodicals commentators on female education. D'Epine teaches her pupils French and, in so doing, 'engages to make her pupils forget the English language two years sooner than any other boarding-school in London can pretend.'[76] This satirical response reveals a common fear that girls were better educated in French language and grammar than their own. 'Sophia' was keen to educate 'Alathea' in her native culture as well as that of Europe, but this author simply voices a concern about the corruptions of contemporary female education: as 'Sophia' complained, it does not offer 'amendment'.

Similar concerns are found in an unnamed article in *The Ghost* dated July 1796[77] which, although sensitive to the previous satirist's concerns, focuses on assumptions of what is 'natural' for girls. The author bemoans the fact that, 'as soon as Miss can speak', 'she is put under the tuition of the dancing-master, the music-master, the drawing-master, and the French-master […] before she can understand the most familiar English books, we put Telemaque and Gil Blas into her hand'. Accordingly, this commentator asks the same question as the author of 'A New Mode of Education', but in different terms: 'does the young Lady get no knowledge of her own language?'[78] Dancing is a useless pursuit, for girls are 'incapable' in pretty 'minuets', feeling 'only a pleasure in jumping reels, as a game at romps'.[79] For this author, the 'natural' is forgotten at the expense of genteel appearance, while women are allowed to have only limited mastery of a limited number of skills, including drawing, dancing and music. This lack of mental challenge means that, in old age, women become slaves to gossip: 'What particularly excites the gall of these peevish virgins, is to see a young woman, who, having got a better education than common, employs her time in reading books of useful information. This brings upon her the odious appellation of a Learned Lady.'[80] Significantly, ridicule of the 'Learned Lady' comes from within her own gender; from those older women who have been 'but half instructed'. The opposition of the scoffing older generation and younger

women, who have received 'a better education', demonstrates that improvements in female education are indeed taking place. However, improvement cannot be untrammelled, as this author 'neither expect[s] nor wish[es] to see Mrs Wollstonecraft's system realised […] Domestic concerns ought to occupy the greater part of women's lives'.[81] Again, although flaws in female education are recognised, the sense remains that that it should manufacture virtuous wives and mothers, rather than, as 'Sophia' had hoped, independent individuals.

'Reflections on the Importance of Forming Female Character by Education', signed 'K' and published in *The Scots Magazine* in January 1798,[82] addresses similar concerns. This piece recalls 'Sophia's' opening gambit by stating that women 'are what they are by education. If ignorant, it is through want of instruction, not of capacity.'[83] There are, however, certain roles to which women are 'suited', and they must be educated accordingly: 'The importance of female education will rise in our opinion, if we consider women as persons who may become *wives*, and *mistresses* of families […] they have duties to perform, which lie at the very foundation of human life.'[84] As with previous commentators, this statement at once congratulates and belittles women and female education: although there is a recognition that female education must 'rise in our opinion' because women occupy a role central to human existence, it is to be understood within the bounds of that to which she is 'suited' – to that which is 'natural'. With this evidence, 'Sophia's' plan for girls to undergo the same curriculum as boys was indeed a revolutionary one.

'On the Female Character',[85] published in *The Scots Magazine* in November 1795, echoes 'Sophia's' writings on female education, in that it features the words of a woman – 'Miranda' –reported through a (presumably male) narrator. Echoing satirical descriptions of D'Epine's seminary, 'Miranda' bemoans the degradation of shame in girls, as well as their rejection of all things natural: 'To be hungry, healthy, rosy, and robust are circumstances of shame to a girl of fashion. To run is rude, to laugh is vulgar, and to play is monstrous, because it is natural.'[86] Just as they are trained to forget their own language at the expense of French and are taught minuets in place of youthful romps, 'Miranda' reveals that girls' instruction also rejects what is

natural in terms of human instinct. Their lack of shame, however, is evidence of a more profound problem in female education: 'while they are taught shame at these excesses or deficiencies, they can brave the recollection of an uncharitable or unjust action; they can tell untruths without flinching.'[87] This nuanced understanding of female 'naturalness' is revealing: as well as banishing the 'natural' aspects of appearance such as rosy cheeks, the young female scholar is to banish attendant instincts such as hunger, but also charity, justice and truth. For this author, the solution is to 'teach sound morals and virtuous principles at modest rates'[88] through Christian instruction: 'I would only hope to recommend a little more of the Christian religion, and a little less of fashionable idolatry.'[89]

'Miranda's' concept of 'naturalness' echoes the statements of others when she considers those women who launch 'out beyond' their 'natural line of ability': 'I look upon her as a kind of deserter, as a soldier fighting under foreign banners, whose renown is infamy, and whose victories are disgraces.'[90] These words, spoken by a woman, echo the sniggers of 'antiquated virgins' at young, 'learned ladies'. Accordingly, 'Miranda' ends with a reinforcement of woman's place at the centre of the domestic world: 'We surely can never reasonably complain of our unimportance in the system, when we consider ourselves as charged with the first care of the species and entrusted with the heirs of immorality during that important interval, when the seeds of virtue or vice are sown in their minds.'[91] Although sensitive to the view that personalities are moulded in early childhood, 'Miranda' concludes that the 'natural' place for women is in the home, at the apex of Christian virtue and as a teacher of domestic morality.

Debates in the late eighteenth-century Scottish periodical press show young female education at something of a crossroads. Alongside a recognition of women's and girls' 'proper' place at the emotional and virtuous heart of Christian marriage and family, there is also an acceptance of the fact that females are as competent as males, and that a good education has positive effects, just as the opposite is also true. Although stereotypes of girlish frivolity and vanity remained, there was, by the 1790s, a growing movement for change in female education and increasing pressure to address the question of its usefulness and consistency. The debate's increasing complexity

and nuance demonstrates that commentators were well aware of the vital role of education in the moulding and refining of morality and personal utility in girls and, by extension, women. 'Sophia's' proposals and descriptions may have run 'ahead of the spirit of the times', and her ideas implicitly ridiculed by her contemporaries, but Erskine's progressive scheme provided a foundation which would be gradually built upon in the nineteenth century. Although Enlightenment Scotland was not always enlightened when it came to the education of its girls, discussions from the periodical press demonstrate that it was an urgently debated topic whose conclusions would have far-reaching implications for women in future generations.

Notes

1 For an analysis of the periodical press of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Alex Benchimol, Rhona Brown and David Shuttleton (eds), *Before Blackwood's: Scottish Journalism in the Age of Enlightenment* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2015).

2 A keyword search for 'education' in Scottish journals 1750–1800 on Proquest's 'British Periodicals' database demonstrates a sharp rise in articles on the subject in the 1780s. 1750–59 yields 99 relevant articles; 1760–69 yields 230; 1770–79 yields 524; 1780–89 yields 1069; 1790–99 yields 711; 1800–09 yields 81.

3 'A Parody of Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son' in *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany*, July 1798, pp. 10–12.

4 Ibid., p. 11.

5 A keyword search for 'female education' in Scottish journals 1750–1800 on Proquest's 'British Periodicals' database demonstrates the same trend witnessed in note 2. 1750–59 yields 8 records; 1760–69 yields 21; 1770–79 yields 67; 1780–89 yields 175; 1790–99 yields 134; 1800–09 yields 14.

6 See extracts from Knox: 'On the Literary Education of Women' in *The Scots Magazine*, July 1782, vol. 44, pp. 340–42.

7 'Lord Salisbury's Directions to his Son' in *The Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1760, pp. 233–35.

8 For further discussion of female educational writings, see Mary Clare Martin, 'Marketing Religious Identity: Female Educators, Methodist Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Childhood' in Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (eds), *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 57–77. See also Lindy Moore, 'The Value of Feminine Culture: Community Involvement in the Provision of Schooling for Girls in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' in Katie Barclay and Deborah Simonton (eds), *Women in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); pp. 97–115 and Anja Müller, *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006).

9 Katharine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), p. 25.

10 'Albanicus', To the Editor of *The Bee*, 11 May 1791, vol. 3, pp. 8–11.

11 'A Fortunate Son of Idleness', 'History of a Fortunate Idler' in *The Bee*, 25 May 1791, vol. 3, pp. 81–87
12 Ibid., p. 86.
13 'On the Art of Idleness, by a Lady' in *The Bee*, 8 June 1791, vol. 3, pp. 160–63.
14 Ibid., p. 161.
15 Ibid., p. 162.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., p. 163.
18 David Stewart Erskine, *The Anonymous and Fugitive Essays of the Earl of Buchan, Collected from Various Periodical Works* (Edinburgh: Ruthven, 1812). The edition is marked 'Volume 1', but a second volume never appeared.
19 Ibid., n.p.
20 See 'WISH: Women in Scottish History', www.womeninscottishhistory.org/tags.php?tid=16, accessed 15 September 2014.
21 See, for example, 'Sophia', 'Education of Young Ladies' in *The Bee, or Weekly Intelligencer*, 22 June 1791, vol. 3, pp. 225–31.
22 Arianne Chernock, *Men and the Making of Modern British Feminism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 57.
23 'Sophia', 'Education of Young Ladies' in *The Bee*, 22 June 1791, vol. 3, pp. 225–30.
24 Ibid., pp. 225–26.
25 Ibid., p. 226.
26 Ibid., p. 227.
27 Ibid., p. 228.
28 'Sophia' refers here to prominent contemporary female scholars: Catharine Macaulay (1731–91), author of, among others, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line* (1763–83) and *Letters on Education* (1790); Elizabeth Montagu (1718–1800), writer, reformer and 'bluestocking'; Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806), poet, translator and fellow 'bluestocking'; and Anna Blackburne (1726–93), botanist and naturalist.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., p. 229.
31 An attempt to find the real source for 'Sophia's' family would be merely conjectural. It is a fact, however, that Erskine, Lord Buchan, although married, had no children of his own.
32 'Sophia', 'On Female Education' in *The Bee*, 29 June 1791, vol. 3, pp. 263–68.
33 Ibid., p. 265.
34 'Sophia's Fourth Letter to the Editor of *The Bee*, on the Subject of the Education of Young Ladies', in *The Bee*, 6 July 1791, vol. 3, pp. 312–16.
35 Ibid., p. 312.
36 Ibid., p. 313.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., p. 314.
39 Ibid., p. 312.
40 Ibid., pp. 315–16.
41 Ibid., p. 316.
42 'Philogunos', 'To the Editor of *The Bee*' in *The Bee*, 20 July 1791, vol. 4, pp. 54–55.

43 Ibid., p. 54.
44 'Sophia on Female Education, Continued' in *The Bee*, 27 July 1791, vol. 4, pp. 81–89.
45 Ibid., p. 83.
46 Ibid.
47 'Sophia on Female Education' in *The Bee*, 25 August 1791, vol. 4, pp. 233–38.
48 Ibid., p. 234.
49 Ibid., pp. 234–35.
50 Ibid., p. 246. 'Sophia' here echoes Robert Fergusson's 'Elegy on the Death of Scots Music' (1772), which complains that 'Now foreign sonnets bear the gree,/And crabbit queer variety/Of sound fresh sprung frae *Italy*,/A bastard breed!/Unlike that saft-tongu'd melody/Which now lies dead' (ll. 1–6) in *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, ed. Matthew P. McDiarmid (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1954), vol. 2, p. 37.
51 Ibid., p. 248.
52 'Thoughts on Female Studies' in *The Bee*, 2 January 1793, vol. 13, pp. 24–27.
53 Ibid., pp. 25–26.
54 Ibid., p. 26.
55 'On the Education and Studies of Women' in *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany*, February 1797, pp. 100–03.
56 Ibid., p. 101.
57 Ibid., p. 100.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid., p. 102.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., p. 103.
62 T.N., 'Observations on the Corruptions of Literature' in *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany*, July 1803, pp. 23–27.
63 Ibid., p. 24.
64 Ibid., p. 25.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., p. 26. For further discussion of the relationship between the reading of novels and female morality, see Liz Bellamy, *Commerce, Morality and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
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82 K., 'Reflections on the Importance of Forming Female Character by Education' in *The Scots Magazine*, January 1798, vol. 60, pp. 17–19.
83 Ibid., p. 17.
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85 'On the Female Character' in *The Scots Magazine*, November 1795, vol. 57, pp. 703-5.
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91 Ibid.

2. The Young Person's Sir Walter: Scott and the Nineteenth-Century Child Reader

PAUL BARNABY

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, Sir Walter Scott came to be seen as a writer ideally suited to the British schoolroom. This chapter will examine the pedagogical ends that he was made to serve and chart how these ultimately undermined his status for child and adult reader alike. This is not, however, a straightforward tale of Scott's 'relegation' from an adult to a juvenile canon. Even in his heyday, children were a major part of Scott's public. As Teresa Michals has recently shown, Scott and his contemporaries consciously addressed a mixed-age audience.[1] Only much later in the century did a vision of the novel emerge which exclusively targeted the adult reader. The repackaging of Scott for children shows rather how a key component of his original readership was transformed into his core market.

Scott himself frequently discussed his popularity among 'young persons'. The preface to *Peveril of the Peak* (1823), for example, is a humorous dialogue in which Scott's fictional antiquarian Dr Dryasdust accuses the 'Author of *Waverley*' of 'misleading the young, the indolent, and the giddy' through 'the crude, uncertain, and often false statements, which [his] novels abound with'. The 'Author' counters that he is 'doing a real service to the more ingenious and the more apt' among the 'busy' and 'youthful' by introducing them to 'truths severe in fairy fiction dressed'.[2] In the introduction to the *Magnum Opus* edition of *Ivanhoe* (1830), Scott refutes the doctrine of poetic justice on the grounds that it is dangerous to teach 'young persons, the most common readers of romance' that 'rectitude of conduct and of principle' are naturally awarded with worldly success.[3]

Such passages are a response to critics like the anonymous reviewer of *Quentin Durward* (1823) who accused Scott of 'blunting the sympathies of youth with the cause of human civilization' by 'accustoming the mind to

the contemplation of political vice unaccompanied by censure, or rather dressed out in the garb of amiability and goodness'. The reviewer cited the 'total confusion of right and wrong' produced in a 'young female' of his acquaintance who judged Scott's Louis XI 'a pleasant gentleman'. It was not enough, he concluded, to argue that such works 'are not intended for youth', for 'youth will read them'.[4]

Other reviewers, conversely, praised Scott precisely for the moral lessons that he offered to young readers. As early as 1814, the *British Critic* recommended *Waverley* (1814) to 'those who are engaged in forming the minds of the youth of this country' and hoped that 'those who are placed under their care' would learn from the flaws in the protagonist's character and education.[5] From the outset, then, Scott and his critics are united in the assumption that he will be extensively read by the young and in the conviction that the novel plays a didactic role. When a later generation of critics comes to see didacticism as the exclusive property of children's writing, Scott's works will increasingly be perceived as addressing youth alone.

The terms 'youthful' and 'young persons' may suggest that Scott and his critics are referring to teenagers or young adults. There is much evidence, however, that Scott's original audience contained many significantly younger readers. In 1808, seven-year-old Thomas Macaulay was, in his mother's words, 'so fired up with reading' the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Marmion* that he composed his own six-canto poem on 'The Battle of Cheviot'.[6] In 1811, eight-year-old Marjory Fleming quoted in her journal from Scott's 'most beautiful' poem 'hill Villean' [i.e. 'Helvellyn'].[7] Eleven-year-old Elizabeth Barrett begged her mother to send her the second volume of *Waverley* in 1817 and read *Rob Roy* later that year.[8] In 1820, another eleven-year-old, Fanny Kemble 'hungered and thirsted' at her Parisian boarding school for Scott's 'romantic epics' which had been her 'daily bread' at home. So 'intense was her desire' that she wrote out the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Marmion* 'from memory, so as not absolutely to lose my possession of them'.[9] Another boarder, twelve-year-old William Makepeace, at Charterhouse in 1823, was lingering after lights out 'to read one little half-page more of my dear Walter Scott' when 'down came the monitor's dictionary upon my head!'.[10]

Mary Ann Evans, the future George Eliot, first read Scott aged seven in 1827,[11] a revelation recalled in the motto to Chapter 57 of *Middlemarch*:

> They numbered scarce eight summers when a name
> Rose on their souls and stirred such motions there
> As thrill the buds and shape their hidden frame
> At penetration of the quickening air:
> His name who told of loyal Evan Dhu,
> Of quaint Bradwardine, and Vich Ian Vor,
> Making the little world their childhood knew
> Large with a land of mountain lake and scaur,
> And larger yet with wonder love belief
> Toward Walter Scott who living far away
> Sent them this wealth of joy and noble grief.
> The book and they must part, but day by day,
> In lines that thwart like portly spiders ran
> They wrote the tale, from Tully Veolan.[12]

The chapter itself shows the Garth children reading aloud from Scott, 'that beloved writer who has made a chief part in the happiness of many young lives'.[13] It was in 1827 too that nine-year-old Emily Brontë chose Scott as her 'chief man' for the Brontë siblings' collective 'play of The Islanders'.[14] Her enthusiasm was shared by Charlotte and Branwell by 1829,[15] the year in which ten-year-old John Ruskin wrote a verse version of his favourite childhood novel, Scott's *The Monastery*.[16] The Waverley Novels, Ruskin recalled in *Praeterita*, were his 'constant reading when I was a child', teaching him 'a most sincere love of kings, and dislike of everybody who attempted to disobey them'.[17]

In the decade following his death, many other children were introduced to Scott, including Emily Shore, Charlotte Yonge, and a four-year-old William Morris.[18] Their testimonies suggest, however, that adults now began to assume a more formal gatekeeping role. Scott's original child-readers had largely discovered him for themselves, roaming at will through their parents' libraries. M. O. Grenby notes that calls for closer monitoring of childhood

reading, made by progressive educationalists like Maria Edgeworth, went largely unheeded in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[19] By the 1830s, however, there is evidence of a growing emphasis on family or supervised reading, as age-appropriateness first emerges as a serious parental concern. Emily Shore's mother read her Scott's poetic romances, one canto per evening, after she had studied 'Greek and Latin with Papa'.[20] Charlotte Yonge was permitted to read a chapter of the Waverley Novels per day, provided that she had 'first read twenty pages of Goldsmith's *Rome* or some equally solid book'.[21] Rather than belonging to children as of right, Scott increasingly came with the seal of adult approval. Where previously he was unproblematically seen as addressing a mixed-age audience, he was now rationed out to younger readers as a healthy literary treat or a reward for serious work. He thus made his first appearance in the classroom in the form of prize-books for the diligent pupil. A typical early example, in the University of Edinburgh Library's Corson Collection,[22] is an edition of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, presented in 1841 to a Miss J. Gilston of the Scottish Institution for the Education of Young Ladies for 'improvement in writing'.[23]

The first edition of Scott explicitly targeted at children, Robert Cadell's three-volume *Readings for the Young from the Works of Sir Walter Scott*, was published in 1849.[24] It consisted of extracts from the poems and novels, together with 'Maxims, Observations, and Anecdotes' from the prose works, gathered under the headings *Tales of Chivalry and the Olden Time*, *Historical and Romantic Narratives*, and *Scottish Scenes and Characters*. As Nicola J. Watson has noted, it followed on from many adult or mixed-age anthologies which disaggregated Scott's collected works into 'scenes', 'episodes' and 'beauties' in a manner hitherto associated with Shakespeare. Prescribed as the modern classics of a new national bard, Scott's works were repackaged as a pageant of Scottish and British history, fostering a 'collective half-fictitious memory'.[25] What is perhaps most striking about Cadell's *Readings* is the absence of any preface or editorial apparatus outlining their purpose, explaining selection criteria, or justifying their utility. That Scott is both suitable and edifying childhood fare, and his work a national monument, is taken as self-evident.

Inscribed copies in the Corson Collection again suggest that the *Readings* frequently served as prize books. A Master Andrew Duncan of Mr Graham's Academy, Edinburgh, was presented, for example, with *Tales of Chivalry and the Olden Time* as a reward for 'excellence in the Shorter Catechism' in 1848.[26] The implied linkage of Christian virtue with Scott's tales of chivalry is suggestive. The following decade saw the emergence of new forms of historical fiction, aimed directly at children, which embraced the chivalric code from an evangelical (Charlotte M. Yonge) or Christian Socialist (Charles Kingsley) perspective. Imbued with a sense of *noblesse oblige*, an idealised medieval knighthood not only embodied virtues of loyalty, bravery, and bodily purity, but was intensely aware of its social responsibility towards women and the lower classes. This form of muscular Christianity would become increasingly secularised and militarised as the century drew on,[27] but the cult of chivalry remained central to the promotion of Scott among child readers.

The 1850s also saw the first attempts to theorise Scott's appeal to youth and to advocate his work as an educational tool. In his *History of English Literature* 'for the use of Schools and of Private students' (1853), William Spalding noted that Scott had been 'excepted, by many very cautious judges, from the sentence which banishes most works of prose fiction from the libraries of the young'. Spalding, Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics at St Andrews University, perceived two principal causes. Firstly, Scott's novels were not 'mere love-stories, but pictures of human life, expressing broad and manly and practical views, and animated by sentiments which are cheerful and correct, if not very elevated or solemn'. Secondly, they 'exhibit history in a light which is extremely effective in exciting curiosity and interest, without degrading facts or characters to the sentimental level, or falsifying either of them beyond the lawful and necessary stretch of poetical embellishment'.[28] In the coming decades, Spalding's remarks were frequently cited in school editions of Scott, which often qualified their endorsement of Scott's 'healthful', 'manly' qualities with the proviso that his work lacked the moral, psychological, or spiritual depth of the very highest literature.

Spalding's reservations were influentially amplified by Walter Bagehot (1858), who first analysed the cross-generational appeal held by the Waverley Novels in Scott's own lifetime. Their 'plain and, so to say, cheerful merits', Bagehot argued, suited 'occupied man of genial middle age', but were also 'admirably fitted for the delight of boyhood' as Scott 'invariably attempted an account of youthful, sometimes of decidedly juvenile, feelings and actions'.[29] *Ivanhoe*, in particular, was addressed to 'a simpler sort of imagination', to 'that kind of boyish fancy which idolises mediaeval society as the "fighting time"'. The 'martial society, where men fought hand to hand on good horses with large lances, in peace for pleasure, and in war for business', seemed 'the very ideal of perfection to a bold and simply fanciful boy'. Scott, a 'cheerful man of the world', could not, however, satisfy the more demanding reader.[30] Bagehot, in turn, is echoed by Leslie Stephen (1871), for whom *Ivanhoe* 'is no longer a work for men, but it still is, or still ought to be, delightful reading for boys'. If it has 'rightly descended from the library to the schoolroom', modern readers 'should not be ungrateful to Scott for wasting his splendid talents on what we can hardly call by a loftier name than most amusing nonsense'.[31]

There were, nonetheless, those who made higher claims for Scott, notably Gladstone (1868), who declared that it would be a 'public misfortune' if the young ceased reading him. For Gladstone, Scott was a civilising and spiritualising influence, teaching the child reader to penetrate the religious or ethical sentiments of his characters and to admire those who possess both moral principles and the courage to act upon them. In the novel, Scott was a 'great purifier', excluding everything that pandered to 'depraved taste' or 'tended to defile and debase', while, in his verse, he 'occasionally rose even to sublimity'.[32] Ruskin too, as William St Clair has noted, repeatedly extolled Scott for promoting correct moral judgement and virtuous conduct in his readers.[33] As early as 1836, in his 'Essay on Literature', he claimed that Scott's works 'humanized', 'cultivated', and 'polished' the mind and consequently improved 'its moral feelings'. Half-a-century later, he continued to propose the 'Scotch Novels', in particular, as 'models of every virtue in their order of literature, and exhaustive codes of Christian wisdom and

ethics' (letter to *The Times*, 3 June 1887).[34] Notably, both Gladstone and Ruskin prescribe Scott for male and female readers alike, while Spalding, Bagehot, and Stephen see his intended audience as exclusively masculine. Spurred by the need to educate the newly enfranchised working-class male, scholastic editors will follow the latter in presenting Scott as ideally suited for moulding the boy reader, despite continuing evidence that his appeal bridged the gender gap.

Scott in the Classroom

Scott's presence in British schools is essentially a product of the Education Acts of the 1870s. The Forster Act of 1870 required school boards in England and Wales to provide elementary education for all children between the ages of five and thirteen, although attendance did not become compulsory until 1880, and then only until the age of ten, rising to twelve by 1899. The Education (Scotland) Act 1872, conversely, provided compulsory education for the same age-group from the very outset, the leaving age rising to fourteen in 1883. The Acts initially required pupils to study two readers in an academic year, including a book of poetry, and Scott's verse romances rapidly became a staple of the curriculum north and south of the Border. The first school editions of Scott, in fact, predate either piece of legislation. By 1855, Adam and Charles Black (Edinburgh) were advertising a *Collection for Schools from the Works of Sir Walter Scott* and a scholastic *History of Scotland* abridged from *Tales of a Grandfather*. The earliest school reader in the Corson Collection is a Longmans edition of *Marmion* from 1869. Unquestionably, however, the Education Acts cemented Scott's place in the classroom. We have seen that Scott was already firmly established as both a modern classic and childhood favourite and advocated as suitable juvenile reading by influential critics and politicians. The centenary of Scott's birth in 1871, and the plethora of related publications and events, must also have propelled him to the forefront of educationalists' minds. Scott is also seen, however, as the ideal vehicle for the ideological agenda underlying the Education Acts. These were a direct response to the Reform Act of 1867 and the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act 1868, which enfranchised the urban male working class. The Acts aimed to school future voters in

the values of a commercially expansive culture and to foster allegiance to both nation and empire. Rather than preach piety and humility, school readers were required to model active participants in the imperial project.[35]

Which Scott works, then, are chosen to serve these ends? Until the 1890s, Scott is present in schools almost exclusively through his poetry. In the 1870s and early 1880s educationalists stressed the training of memory, leading them to privilege verse over prose. By the late 1880s, there is a new emphasis on the patriotic promotion of the literary heritage as a great national achievement, but again poetry, as a higher genre, predominates. The novel only really emerges as a classroom tool in the mid-nineties, as school inspectors increasingly recommend continuous narratives as the best means of imparting moral lessons, and a consensus emerges that literacy lessons should ideally be a pleasurable experience, actively exciting the desire to read.[36] Even now, though, as the Waverley Novels enter the curriculum, Scott's verse romances, with their rapid movement and conveniently teachable length, remain pre-eminent. *Marmion*, rather than (as often thought) *Ivanhoe*, is the quintessential Scott school reader. It went through almost twice as many scholastic editions as *The Lady of the Lake* and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* and is Scott's most explicitly ideologised classroom text.

Scholastic editors of *Marmion* focus almost exclusively on the depiction of the Battle of Flodden in Canto VI. In his Clarendon Press edition of 1889, Thomas Bayne is typical in presenting the poem as the celebration of a great 'national effort, illustrating keen sense of honour, resolute purpose, and pathetic manly devotion'. Amid fears of a French invasion, Scott desired to 'touch the national heart' and to instil his readership with the 'patriotic ardour' that was 'a constituent element of his character'. Bayne invites the boy reader to admire the heroism of James IV's knights who, 'despite their awareness of his folly', supported their king 'to the last with a heroism that recalls Thermopylae'. There is no suggestion that Scott is, in any way, critical of the ideology that leads to defeat at Flodden, nor any attempt to explain why Scott would depict a Scottish national disaster in an effort to awaken British patriotism. Bayne is also typical in citing James Skene's recollections of Scott composing the battle canto on horseback while training with the

Royal Mid-Lothian Light Cavalry.[37] Had circumstances demanded, Bayne continues, Scott would doubtless 'have distinguished himself as a trooper on the field of battle'.[38]

By the turn of the century, this militaristic note is increasingly amplified in school editions of *Marmion*. For F. S. Arnold (Rivingtons' English School Classics, c. 1900), no one felt as intensely as Scott 'the fierce delight of war'.[39] For Alexander Mackie (Blackwood's English Classics, 1901), Scott would have chosen arms as a career, were it not for his lameness. The 'chief sentiments to which his blood warms' were 'love of the idealised past, and of his native soil' and 'delight in a well-contested fight'. These later editors are, however, at greater pains to stress that there is nothing 'narrow or provincial', in Scott's patriotism, for, in Mackie's words he was 'a Briton as well as a Scot'.[40]

The Lady of the Lake is similarly presented as a product of Scott's 'martial spirit',[41] with many editors quoting an anecdote from the Peninsular War reported in Lockhart's life of Scott. Under bombardment from French artillery, Scott's friend Sir Adam Ferguson ordered his troops to lie prostrate while he read aloud the ballad of the 'Battle of Beal' An Duine' in Canto VI of the poem. The listening soldiers 'only interrupted him by a joyous huzza, whenever the French shot struck the bank close above them'.[42] Here, though, editors lay greater stress on the ideology of chivalry and its continuing validity as a code of conduct for the Victorian gentleman. It is not embodied, however, in Malcolm Graeme, the insipid hero proper, but in Roderick Dhu, who rightly commands the devotion of his clansmen. For W. E. W. Collins (Blackwood's English Classics, 1900), Roderick is a 'champion of his people', a defender of women and protector of the poor, who respects the laws of hospitality and never stoops to take advantage of a defenceless enemy. The same qualities are detected in James Douglas, a 'true patriot, and the people's friend',[43] and in James V, 'King of the Commons'.[44] Less persuasively, editors of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* highlight similar virtues in Sir William Deloraine, stressing his loyalty to his clan and generosity to his foe, and insisting that 'a rude spirit of chivalry' offsets his 'habits of constant depredation'.[45]

Although clearly taught at a wide range of institutions, school editions of *The Lady of the Lake* and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* often appear to

address a more socially elevated readership than *Marmion*. Where *Marmion*'s editors preach the subaltern values of loyalty and unquestioning obedience, those of *The Lady of the Lake*, in particular, seek to mould the future officer class, stressing *noblesse oblige*, honour, and leadership by example. The significantly greater number of editions of *Marmion* may, in fact, indicate that it was primarily deployed with a working-class readership in the new board schools.

Scholastic editors are united, then, in affirming the chivalric and militaristic values embodied in Scott's verse. They make no such claims for the poems' aesthetic merits. Indeed, they consistently enumerate Scott's faults: on the one hand, careless structure, monotonous metre, and faulty rhymes; on the other, the absence of any 'minute analysis of passion, motive, and character' or 'insight into the deeper side of life and manners'.[46] Yet early editors, in particular, detect hidden virtues in such flaws. Careless composition is a result of Scott's energy, vivacity, and quickness of perception, of the love of nature and the outdoor life that led him to compose in the saddle. Similarly, his apparent lack of depth steps from a love of the concrete, tangible, and practical that is native to the 'matter-of-fact Saxon mind'.[47] Scott's poetry, argues Alexander Mackie, is always 'healthy and strong in tone, without a trace of the weakly sentimental'.[48] Likewise, W. E. W. Collins applauds its 'entire absence of cynicism, morbidity, and sentimentalism'.[49] While a small number of editors follow Ruskin and Gladstone in stressing Scott's 'tendency to ennoble and purify',[50] most invite pupils to see both the poet and his protagonists as the epitome of *mens sana in corpore sano*.

The outward-turned nature of Scott's verse acquires an added, political significance. For William Keith Leask, in his Blackie's Standard English Classics edition of *The Lady of the Lake* (1895), Scott's work is not destined for those who regard poetry 'as a sort of emotional stimulant'. He aims to inspire readers 'at the fountain of some great and permanent action' rather than merely record passing feelings.[51] George Townsend Warner, in an edition of *Marmion* (Arnold's British Classics for Schools, 1895), writes that Scott's romances are 'pivoted on public rather than mere private passions and interests', portraying not 'mere individuals' but 'individuals as they are affected by the public strifes and social divisions of the age'.[52] The insistence

on the public-spirited nature of Scott's verse is consistent with the ambition of the Education Acts to create a politically conscious and socially responsible electorate. This aim also explains why scholastic editions of Scott so consistently address the male pupil alone, even though they were plainly set for girls too, who, according to a 1884 survey, actually placed Scott higher on a list of favourite writers than their male contemporaries.[53]

By the turn of the century, editors are slower to excuse Scott's technical limitations and perceived lack of depth. With greater emphasis on studying literature as a discrete discipline and celebrating the canon as a crowning national achievement, Scott's poetry is increasingly allotted a purely historical function. Casting off the artifice and sentimentality of late eighteenth-century verse, Scott created an audience for Romanticism and 'paved the way for more truly poetic souls' like Wordsworth and Coleridge.[54] He is not himself among 'the great masters of song'.[55] It is only too easy to see how the classroom presentation of Scott's verse contributed to its twentieth-century fall from critical favour and banishment from the curriculum. The exaltation of manliness, martial chivalry, and unquestioning patriotism does not survive the carnage of the First World War. In the minds of many survivors, Scott may have been irrevocably tarnished by association with warmongering rhetoric. The modest aesthetic claims made by educationalists for Scott's verse could not suffice to safeguard his reputation. Shorn of his perceived ideological message, Scott emerges from school editions as little more than a spirited versifier, a gentle introduction to literature for the younger pupil, of historical interest alone for the older child.

Presented in a less militaristic light, Scott's novels have a longer classroom life. They increasingly appear on school curricula from 1896 onwards when the Ministry of Education recommended longer narratives for school reading in place of anthologies of extracts that lent themselves to rote learning.[56] It is relatively rare, however, for complete editions of Scott's novels to be set. More common are abridgements or chronologically arranged 'scenes'. The perception that the Waverley Novels are too long for school consumption is far from recent. I have traced school editions of fifteen Waverley Novels,[57] but, in practice, four predominate. As might be anticipated, *Ivanhoe* is most widely taught, but only marginally more so than *Quentin Durward*,

The Talisman, and *A Legend of Montrose*. The first three are of greatest significance for the ideological packaging of Scott. *A Legend of Montrose* is a case apart, favoured as a language reader on account of its exceptional brevity rather than as a literary set-text.

Scholastic editors of the Waverley Novels, continue to highlight chivalry as a perennially valid code of conduct, but, unlike commentators on Scott's verse, stress its civic rather than martial elements. Thus, Wilfred of Ivanhoe, in particular, is presented as a protector of the weak and a righter of wrongs, not only loyal to king and country, but solicitous towards his dependents and willing to defend an oppressed minority.[58] Indeed *Ivanhoe*'s appeal to educationalists lies largely in the unambiguously heroic behaviour that lifts its protagonist above his Waverley peers, typically dismissed by scholastic editors as 'insipid', 'colourless', or 'characterless'. Quentin Durward too is 'far superior to Scott's usual hero', not only courageous and unselfish, but shrewd, resourceful, and independent.[59] His talents and initiative permit the aristocratic but penniless Quentin to carve out a position in a foreign land. Both Quentin and the crusader protagonists of *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman* are likened by editors to the 'homeless youth' of today who seek their fortune in Britain's colonies.[60] They simultaneously, then, embody the code of chivalry and encourage allegiance to the commercially expansive values of the British Empire. This double focus again highlights how many scholastic editions address two distinct audiences: a public-school readership which requires drilling in gentlemanly values, and the urban working class which is taught to view the Empire as a promoter of upward mobility and self-realisation.

Ivanhoe and *Quentin Durward* also appeal to educationalists through the relative strength of their heroines. By the turn of the twentieth century, editors are lamenting the passivity and passionlessness of Scott's heroines and their perceived role as mere conventional love interests. They increasingly highlight the few exceptions who offer a more independent and vigorous model of womanhood. Thus Rebecca, in particular, is praised for virtues such as sound judgement, clear-sightedness, keen-wittedness, and courage that could 'shame a knight'.[61] Isabelle de Croye in *Quentin Durward* is likewise praised for her fortitude and initiative. If her talents

are unquestionably placed at the service of the hero, she is more comrade-in-arms than ministering angel.[62]

The Talisman is an exception in that neither hero nor heroine is foregrounded in school readers. Instead, the focus is on the warrior-king Richard. Scholastic editions frequently claim that Scott had an 'especial taste for depicting kings and queens'.[63] Introductions to *Kenilworth* and *The Fortunes of Nigel* (the most common classroom texts after the group discussed here) similarly treat Elizabeth and James VI and I as the main focus of narrative interest. If there is a strong element of encouraging identification with a pageant-like, kings-and-queens version of national history, then subtler political lessons are also imparted. Thus, while Richard is praised for chivalry and magnanimity, and Elizabeth for uniting the English nation, attention is also drawn to flaws in their policy. Richard abandons his kingdom, starving the people to finance his wars, and leaving them at the mercy of quarrelling barons. By playing favourite against favourite, and leaving no heir, Elizabeth leaves the nation's fate uncertain at her death. James oversees a period of peace and prosperity, but in preaching the Divine Right of Kings, sows the seeds for Revolution and Civil War. Louis XI of France too, in *Quentin Durward*, is praised for breaking baronial power, and centralising the state, but is also the father of absolutism. Rather than evoking an idealised past, then, educationalists explain the genesis of constitutional monarchy, and extol its benefits, preparing pupils for their role in a newly expanded democracy.

As with the poems, introductions to Scott's novels are far from uncritical. Indeed, if anything, greater stress is laid on Scott's shortcomings. Editors habitually begin by listing the faults identified by influential critics, particularly Jeffrey and Carlyle. Thus, Scott's plotting is careless, his style turgid, and language ungrammatical. His historical narratives are peppered with anachronisms, and his heroes and heroines too often insipid. Scott is incapable of profound insight, fashioning his characters, in Carlyle's words, 'from the skin inwards' rather than 'the heart outwards'.[64] An effort is generally made to locate counter-balancing virtues. Thus, Scott's habits of rapid composition engender his most vivid as well as his most slapdash passages. He captures the spirit of the age and only pedants quibble over details. His

lifeless protagonists reflect romance conventions and Scott's healthy Anglo-Saxon distaste for extremes of emotion and political or religious enthusiasm. Scott is not *pace* Carlyle a soulless materialist, but privileges the public over the private sphere.

It is nonetheless striking that many scholastic editions of the Waverley Novels devote more space to enumerating than to rebutting strictures. This suggests a growing critical embarrassment, a sense that Scott lacks the depth and integrity of the highest literature and is moving inexorably towards the periphery of the literary system. Indeed, many educationalists are clearly happier discussing Scott's life than his works. A high proportion of school editions begin with a detailed biography of Scott, constituting in some cases the entire critical apparatus. Editors consistently assert that it is vital to study Scott's life to understand the values that underpinned his writing. In practice, however, those values are presented as more fully realised in the life than in the works.[65]

What qualities then are school children directed to admire in Scott? First, he embodies the code of chivalry more completely than any of his characters. He is courteous, liberal, generous to a fault, and cheerful in the face of adversity. He is publicly minded, a friend to all classes, a father to his dependants, a lover of children and animals, and a sportsman devoted to manly pursuits. Only disability prevented him from following the military career of his ancestors, forcing him to battle vicariously through his characters. Set against this image of the Laird of Abbotsford, however, is another Scott: a monster of industry, prodigiously self-disciplined, and energetic, while, in a period which privileged the training of memory, educationalists also laid great stress on Scott's prodigious powers of recollection. Editors consistently stress both Scott's exceptional productivity and equally phenomenal earnings. Worldly success is the merited award for his labours, motivated not by a vulgar thirst for money but by a laudable desire to 'found a family'.

Many school biographers fluctuate disconcertingly between the Lockhart-derived evocation of a gentlemanly amateur and Samuel Smiles' vision of Scott as a paradigm of self-help.[66] On the same page, Scott may appear a burner of midnight oil and an amiable slacker who stumbles upon a vocation in mid-life. Pupils may well have struggled to square these two portraits,

especially as biographers generally skate over both Scott's legal career (often suggesting that is was imposed by an authoritarian father) and his scholarly passion for antiquarian research.[67] Yet this often-contradictory picture again points to the double nature of the audience addressed by these school editions: the privately educated gentleman-in-the-making and the working-class boy who requires a role-model for self-improvement.

These jarring images are, moreover, reconciled in the episode that dominates all school biographical accounts of Scott: the struggle to satisfy his creditors following the financial crash of 1825–26. On one hand, it is a monument to his capacity for mental and physical toil. On the other, it is the ultimate expression of Scott's chivalric nature as he refuses to let family, friends, dependents, or colleagues suffer on his account. Few biographers moralise over the crash itself. Some half-heartedly tax Scott with the gentlemanly sin of excessive liberality but most treat it as an accident of commercial life. Similarly, few see bankruptcy as a genuine stain on Scott's reputation. Indeed, some regard his battle with debt as gloriously gratuitous, a 'splendid extravagance' born of an overly 'scrupulous sense of honour'.[68] For all, though, it is the crowning achievement of a heroic life, meriting greater focus than Scott's literary career itself, which often appears a mere preliminary to the events in which Scott most fully realised himself.

The modern reader might wonder how far Scott's financial toils appealed to the juvenile imagination, but there is some evidence that pupils responded positively to his life-story. In *Red Cap Tales* (1904), S. R. Crockett fictionalises his struggles to persuade his children ('certain small Pharaohs that knew not Joseph') to read Scott. They like 'hearing about Sir Walter' and find biographical accounts 'nice' but 'can't read the novels'. (Crockett's daughter has attempted to read her brothers the first volume of *Rob Roy* until they protested that 'there wasn't no Rob Roy, nor any fighting in it' and 'pelted her with fir-cones to make her stop and read over *Treasure Island* to us instead'.)[69]

Given the very modest aesthetic claims that educationalists made for Scott's fiction, there was a real danger that children would regard novel-writing as merely one of Scott's accomplishments: a feat of industry rather than inspiration, or simply the means to the worldly fortune that Scott

found himself by losing. In this light, it is instructive to revisit E. M. Forster's critique of Scott in *Aspects of the Novel* (1927) which did so much to banish Scott from the twentieth-century literary canon. Scott, Forster laments, had 'neither artistic detachment nor passion' but 'only a temperate heart and gentlemanly feelings, and an intelligent affection for the countryside'. This could never be 'basis enough for great novels'. Scott's vaunted integrity, meanwhile, 'was worse than nothing, for it was a purely moral and commercial integrity. Of artistic integrity he had no concept'.[70]

Forster's comments can be read as a direct response to the scholastic foregrounding of Scott's biography. Born in 1879, he encountered Scott in texts which located value in the life rather than the works, proposing the man instead of the writer as an imperial role-model. He particularly echoes those educationalists who presented Scott as a 'strong, simple, healthy-minded gentleman' with 'a genuine love of nature' who could not be ranked among 'the greatest poets'.[71] Forster's emphasis on 'moral and commercial integrity' clearly refers to the struggle against bankruptcy highlighted by scholastic editions at the expense of Scott's literary achievements. Forster predicts that his readers will 'violently divide' with him over his disregard for Scott. In reality, school editions of Scott can only have prepared them for Forster's strictures. Many of the specific faults that Forster identifies – heaviness of style, careless construction, absence of passion – are, in fact, staples of the classroom presentation of Scott. Rather than reacting against the Victorian lionisation of Scott, Forster and the younger Modernists largely absorb and reproduce criticisms found in any school edition, while dismissing Scott's redeeming personal qualities as of no artistic consequence.

Scott's novels nonetheless had a longer scholastic life than his verse, as interwar educationalists adapted to the changing nature of the Empire. Britain now presented itself as a bulwark of peace and stability, seeking not to expand, but to administer its colonies in an equitable and enlightened manner.[72] Post-1918 school editions present Scott as the champion of national unity, of interclass cooperation, and of religious and racial tolerance. Rather than a specialist in royal characters, he is a democratic writer, penetrating the feelings of the ordinary man, and sympathetically portraying the masses. Following the extension of the franchise to women, editors gradually begin

to address a female readership too, highlighting dynamic or independent heroines in Scott. By the centenary of Scott's death in 1932, however, the reaction embodied by E. M. Forster has clearly set in. The plethora of child-friendly biographies and adaptations published that year represented a concerted but forlorn attempted to reawaken juvenile interest, which, their authors complain, was rapidly flagging at school and home alike.

If Scott's novels are less fatally associated with martial imperialism than his verse, then the haphazard structure and perceived lack of psychological depth, repeatedly underlined by scholastic editors, see them dismissed as sub-literary in the period of high Modernism. By the mid-twentieth century, they have essentially disappeared from both school and university curricula. The Victorian perception that Scott is *ideally* suited for childhood reading gives way to the assumption that he is *exclusively* of juvenile interest, writing for an audience that is 'shock-headed and tired and easily forgets'.[73] Ironically, however, Scott's long association with the classroom proved a disincentive for the twentieth-century home reader.

Perhaps, though, the nineteenth-century educationalists who so effectively undermined Scott's reputation failed to grasp the true nature of Scott's appeal to child readers from Margaret Fleming, George Eliot, and the Brontës onwards. They repeatedly direct their pupils' gaze away from Scott's heroes proper towards more self-willed secondary characters such as Roderick Dhu, James V, or Richard the Lionheart. They not only dismiss Scott's male leads as 'unsatisfactory', 'uninteresting', and 'colourless', but complain that they 'reap where others have sown', have success 'thrust upon them', and only act following 'a push or a pull from friend or foe'.[74] A rare defence of Scott's heroes, in Peter Hately Waddell's school edition of *The Antiquary* (c. 1890), suggestively argues that such passivity is a function of age rather than innate character. It is 'obvious', Waddell argues, why Scott's nominal heroes appear 'second rate'. Novelistic convention dictates that they be youths, belonging, by necessity, to the generation succeeding that of the 'principal actors' of both fiction and history. As such, they are 'objects of solicitude' to the 'chief personages'. The plot thus becomes 'essentially a family plot' in which 'the children should not lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children'. Scott thereby unites 'the social as well as the family

interests of the past and present'. It is only in the older generation, the actual agents of history, that Scott can delineate 'the traits of life' of a historical period. The younger generation remains a work in progress.[75] If, as Waddell suggests, Scott's heroes are essentially children, unable to act of their own volition, and dependent on the patronage of the older generation, then perhaps they hold the key to Scott's attraction for juvenile readers of both sexes. Child readers may, as educationalists urge, admire and seek to emulate the more dynamic 'chief personages' but, in the reading process itself, they identify with the wavering, unformed, powerless hero whom they instantly recognise as their peer.

Notes

1 See Teresa Michals, 'Rational Moralists, Highland Barbarians, and the Taste for Adventures', in *Books for Children, Books for Adults: Age and the Novel from Defoe to James* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 100–36.
2 Sir Walter Scott, *Peveril of the Peak*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1822), I, xxvi–xxvii.
3 Scott, 'Introduction to *Ivanhoe*', in *Waverley Novels*, 48 vols (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1829–33), XVI (1830), iv–xxii (p. xxi).
4 Unsigned review in *New Monthly Magazine*, 8 (1823), 82–87 (p. 86); reprinted in *Scott: The Critical Heritage*, ed. John O. Hayden (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 272–78 (p. 277).
5 Unsigned review in *British Critic*, n.s., 2 (1814), 189–211; reprinted in *Scott: The Critical Heritage*, pp. 67–74 (p. 72).
6 George Otto Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876), I, 30.
7 Marjory Fleming, *The Complete Marjory Fleming: Her Journals, Letters & Verses*, ed. Frank Sidgwick (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1934), p. 120.
8 Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning, *The Brownings' Correspondence*, ed. Philip Kelley and Ronald Hudson (Winfield: Wedgestone Press, 1984-), I (1984), 31 and 33.
9 *Records of Girlhood: An Anthology of Nineteenth-century Women's Childhoods*, ed. Valerie Sanders, 2 vols (Farnham: Ashgate, 2000–2013), I (2000), 168.
10 William Makepeace Thackeray, 'On a Peal of Bells', in *The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray*, 12 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1876), X, 215–23 (p. 223).
11 George Eliot, *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Height, 9 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954–78), V (1956), 175.
12 George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, ed. Rosemary Ashton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), p. 571.
13 Eliot, p. 572.
14 *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës*, eds. Christine Alexander and Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 444. See also Christine Alexander, '"For

Fiction, Read Scott Alone": The Legacy of Sir Walter Scott on Youthful Artists and Writers', in *The Shadow of the Precursor*, eds. Diana Glenn, Md Rezaul Haque, Ben Kooyman, and Nena Bierbaum (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), pp. 106–23.

15 Victor A. Neufeldt, 'The Child Is Parent to the Author: Branwell Brontë', in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf*, eds. Christine Alexander and Juliet McMaster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 173–87 (p. 174).

16 David C. Hanson, 'Precocity and the Economy of the Evangelical Self in John Ruskin's Juvenilia', in *The Child Writer from Austen to Woolf*, pp. 200–21 (p. 209).

17 John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 29 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), XXXV (1908), 13–14.

18 See M. O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 115, and 221, and Amy Cruse, *The Victorians and their Books* (London: G. Allen & Unwin 1935), p. 293.

19 Grenby, pp. 183–85.

20 Emily Shore, *Journal of Emily Shore*, ed. Barbara Timm Gates (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), p. 42.

21 Charlotte M. Yonge, 'Autobiography', in Christabel Coleridge, *Charlotte Mary Yonge: Her Life and Letters* (London: Macmillan, 1903), pp. 1–119 (p. 111).

22 The Corson Collection contains some 7,000 printed works by or about Scott collected by James C. Corson (1905–88), Deputy Librarian of the University of Edinburgh and Honorary Librarian of Abbotsford House.

23 Corson A.4.LAY.1.a.1839. The Institution taught girls from the age of ten upwards. See B. F. Duppa, 'Scottish Institution for the Education of Young Ladies', in Central Society for Education, *First Publication: Papers* (London: Taylor and Walton, 1837), pp. 360–64.

24 Nicola J. Watson has located an edition of *Kenilworth*, abridged for school use, published as early as 1822, but this appears to be an isolated exception. See Watson, 'Sir Walter Scott', in *Great Shakespeareans*, 5. *Scott, Dickens, Eliot, Hardy*, ed. Adrian Poole (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 10–52 (p. 50). In the same year, an adaptation of *Ivanhoe* appeared in Hodgson's Juvenile Drama series for use with toy theatres. See Watson, 'Afterlives', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Fiona Robertson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 143–55 (p. 149).

25 Watson, 'Sir Walter Scott', p. 50; see also Watson, 'Afterlives', pp. 145–46.

26 Corson A.16.REA.1848/1.

27 See, in particular, Jeffrey Richards, 'Introduction', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 1–10 (pp. 5–6).

28 William Spalding, *The History of English Literature: With an Outline of the Origin and Growth of the English Language* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1853), p. 384.

29 Walter Bagehot, 'The Waverley Novels', *National Review*, 6 (1858), 444–72 (p. 445).

30 Bagehot, p. 460.

31 Leslie Stephen, 'Some Words about Sir Walter Scott', *Cornhill Magazine*, 24 (1871), 278–93 (pp. 289–90).

32 William Ewart Gladstone, 'The Scott Monument, Edinburgh, and Sir Walter Scott, Bart.', in James Colston, *History of the Scott Monument, Edinburgh: To Which Is Prefixed a*

Biographical Sketch of Sir Walter Scott (Edinburgh: Printed for the Magistrates and Town Council, 1881), pp. 111–20 (pp. 115–16). This is the text of a speech originally delivered at Hawarden, February 3, 1868. Such was Gladstone's faith in Scott's 'purifying' power that he read his poems and novels to the prostitutes that he sought to reform (see Ruth Clayton Windscheffel, 'Gladstone and Scott: Family, Identity, and Nation', *Scottish Historical Review*, 86 (2007), 69–95 (p. 73)).

33 William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 420.

34 Ruskin, I (1903), 365, and XXXIV (1908), 607.

35 See, in particular, Bruce Beiderwell and Anita Hemphill McCormick, 'The Making and Unmaking of a Children's Classic: The Case of Scott's *Ivanhoe*', in *Culturing the Child, 1690–1914: Essays in Memory of Mitzi Myers*, ed. Donelle Ruwe (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), pp. 165–77 (pp. 169–70).

36 See J. S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), pp. 192–93, and Alec Ellis, *A History of Children's Reading and Literature* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1968), pp. 94–96.

37 J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 7 vols (Edinburgh: R. Cadell, 1837–38), II (1837), 117.

38 Scott, *Marmion*, ed. Thomas Bayne (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), pp. xii–xiii.

39 *Marmion*, intro. F. S. Arnold (London: Rivingtons, [c. 1900]), p. 19.

40 *Marmion*, ed. Alexander Mackie (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1901), pp. ix and xix.

41 Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, ed. J. V. Saunders (London: Blackie & Son, [ca. 1900]), p. 3.

42 Lockhart, II, 350.

43 *The Lady of the Lake*, ed. W. E. W. Collins (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), pp. xxxviii–xli.

44 *The Lady of Lake*, ed. Howard B. Masterman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917), p. xiv. This edition was first published in 1896.

45 See, for example, Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, ed. J. H. Flather (Cambridge University Press, 1896), p. xv.

46 *Marmion*, ed. George Townsend Warner (London: Edward Arnold, 1899), p. xx, and *The Lady of the Lake,* ed. G. H. Stuart (London: Macmillan, 1905), p. xiv. These editions were first published in 1895 and 1889 respectively.

47 *The Lady of the Lake*, ed. Collins, p. x.

48 *Marmion*, ed. Mackie, p. xx.

49 *The Lady of the Lake*, ed. Collins, p. xliv.

50 *Cusack's Edition of Canto II. of 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel'*, [ed. James Cusack?] (London: City of London Book Depot, 1897), p. 9.

51 *The Lady of the Lake*, ed. William Keith Leask (London: Blackie, [1895]), p. 17.

52 *Marmion*, ed. Warner, p. ix.

53 Charles Welsh's 1884 survey of childhood reading saw girls place Scott second on their list of favourites (after Dickens) and boys third (after Dickens and Charles Kingsley); see Ellis, p. 72.

54 *Marmion*, ed. W. M. Mackenzie (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1900), p. ix.

55 Scott, *The Lord of the Isles*, ed. W. M. Mackenzie (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1917), p. xviii. This edition was first published in 1903.

56 See Ellis, p. 96.

57 *The Abbot*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, *The Fortunes of Nigel*, *Guy Mannering*, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth*, *A Legend of Montrose*, *Old Mortality*, *Quentin Durward*, *Rob Roy*, *The Talisman*, *Waverley*, and *Woodstock*. I have not traced school editions of *Anne of Geierstein*, *The Antiquary*, *The Betrothed*, *The Black Dwarf*, *Castle Dangerous, Count Robert of Paris*, *The Monastery*, *Peveril of the Peak*, *The Pirate*, *Redgauntlet*, or *Saint Ronan's Well*.

58 See, in particular, Scott, *Ivanhoe*, ed. George L. Turnbull (London: J. M. Dent, [1904]), p. xxi.

59 Scott, *Quentin Durward*, ed. W. Murison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), p. xx.

60 See, in particular, *Ivanhoe*, ed. J. Higham (London: Adam & Charles Black, [1898], p. vii.

61 *Ivanhoe*, ed. Turnbull, p. xx.

62 See, in particular, *Quentin Durward*, ed. Murison, p. xxi. In a rare school edition of *Rob Roy* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903), the editor Arthur T. Flux notes that where Di Vernon might once have been judged 'forward and unladylike', the 'present generation' would admire her thirst for education, loyalty to her principles, health of mind and body, common-sense, and shrewdness. If she and Francis were happy in their married life 'it was most probably because the direction of affairs was left in her hands while he occupied himself in writing poetry' (p. xi).

63 Scott, *Kenilworth*, ed. E. S. Davies (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901), p. ix.

64 Thomas Carlyle, 'Sir Walter Scott', in *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. H. D. Traill, 30 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896–99), XXIX (1899), 22–87 (p. 75).

65 Juvenile biographies of Scott also figure prominently in such works as John Dennis, *Heroes of Literature* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1883), Stephen Gwynn, *The Masters of English Literature* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1904), Mary MacGregor, *Scott for Boys and Girls* (London: E. C. & T. C. Jack, [ca. 1910]), H. E. Marshall, *The Child's English Literature* (London: E. C. & T. C. Jack, 1910), M. B. Synge, *Great Scotsmen: An Historical Reading Book for Schools* (London: G. Bell, 1911), Edward Parrott, *The Pageant of English Literature* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1914), and F. J. Snell, *Boys Who Became Famous* (London: George G. Harrap, 1914).

66 See Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (London: John Murray, 1859), esp. pp. 57–59.

67 A rare exception is *Cusack's Edition of Canto II. of 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel'* which credits Scott's legal training with awakening the passion for antiquities that, in turn, inspires his literary career (p. 2). W. Murison's edition of *Quentin Durward* also grants Scott's legal work a key role in building his 'varied knowledge of human nature' (p. x).

68 See the anonymously edited *Scott's 'Ivanhoe': With Introduction and Notes* (London: Macmillan, 1904), p. x.

69 S. R. Crockett, *Red Cap Tales: Stolen from the Treasure Chest of the Wizard of North* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904), pp. 1–2. Non-scholastic adaptions of Scott are beyond the scope of this chapter. With the exception of late nineteenth-century Lamb-like abridgements by Harriet Gassiot and Sir Edward Sullivan, they are largely a twentieth-century phenomenon representing a belated attempt to rescue Scott from the schoolroom.

70 E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927), p. 47.

71 *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (London: Blackie & Son, [ca. 1900]), pp. ix and xvii. I have not been able to trace the earliest appearance of this anonymously edited text. However, the phrase 'strong, simple, healthy-minded gentleman' also occurs in an 1898 edition of the poem published by Maynard of New York (p. 10).
72 See Richards, p. 5.
73 Forster, p. 50.
74 *The Lady of the Lake*, ed. Collins, p. xxxvii, *Rob Roy*, ed. Flux, p. ix, and *The Fortunes of Nigel*, ed. Ernest S. Davies (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), p. xvii.
75 Scott, *The Antiquary*, ed. Peter Hately Waddell (Edinburgh: Nimmo, Hay, and Mitchell, [c. 1890]), p. 333.

3. 'Entertaining and Instructing Histories': Children's Chapbook Literature in the Nineteenth Century

VALENTINA BOLD

My title is taken from a children's chapbook: *The Entertaining and Instructing History of Little Jack*. It precisely identifies the functions of nineteenth-century chapbooks for children: to amuse and to teach. This chapter provides an overview of the history of children's chapbooks in Scotland, their production and characteristics. There are four sections to this essay. In the first, Scottish children's chapbooks are set in context, the next two consider 'entertaining' and 'instructing' tales in turn, focussing on a small selection of representative texts. The final section considers a chapbook which is both 'entertaining' and 'instructing', not to mention sensational – a text which, to the modern audience, may read as somewhat bizarre.

The purpose is to establish the main characteristics and thematic concerns of children's chapbooks in nineteenth-century Scotland. It might be possible to detect a 'missing link' between the texts mentioned and the work of today's successful children's writers. Parallels can be drawn, for instance, between the more humorous illustrated chapbooks to the work of Julia Donaldson, between tales of adventure and John Buchan, and between stories of dark magic and the work of J. K. Rowling. While there is no suggestion that these writers had or have a deep knowledge of chapbook literature, perhaps the concerns of chapbooks continue into the present milieu.

At the outset, I confess that this is work-in-progress, based on a preliminary survey. I would like to thank the National Library of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh's Special Collections, and the Museum of Childhood in Edinburgh. In particular, I am grateful to Julie Coleman and the University of Glasgow's Special Collections, for permission to include images from their holdings.[1]

Context

The history of Scottish children's chapbooks has been rather neglected in the past, even in works exploring the history of chapbooks such as Leslie Shephard's *The Broadside Ballad* (1962), Claude Simpson's *The British Broadside Ballad and its music* (1966) or, more recently, Edward J. Cowan and Mike Paterson's *Folk in Print* (2006). Victor Neuberg's classic study of the genre, *The Penny Histories* (1968), does offer a broad, insightful account of the history, printing and publishers of children's chapbooks – but solely in England.[2] He focusses, in the main, on London and the larger cities, such as Nottingham and Oxford and, while many of the patterns he observes (a move from city to provincial production, for instance) are mirrored in Scotland, there is little detail on the state of play north of the Border. Similarly, whilst chapbook aficionados often recall buying texts from an early age this is primarily recorded in relation to English audiences. John Clare, for instance, saved his money to buy penny tales 'when hawkers offered them for sale at the door'. These were relatively inexpensive treats – whether bought by parents or by children themselves. Sir Joseph Banks' sister is supposed to have entered a shop in Shoe Lane and chosen a dozen penny books; she paid a shilling, was given thruppence change and told to take two more.[3]

What little has been written about Scottish children's chapbooks specifically has focussed primarily on their production and on their timing. They have been considered as a type of publication representing the period between the first children's literary productions and modern children's writing. Their precise significance, and characteristics, though, have been ignored. The only substantial account of the Scottish tradition is an unpublished M.Phil. dissertation by Kirsteen Connor, 'Youth's poison?' (2010).[4] This includes a very helpful annotated appendix of almost fifty printers who published children's literature in Scotland in the nineteenth century, from Aberdeen to Kirkcudbright, Montrose to Ayr. The main centres of production, as might be expected, were in Glasgow and Edinburgh, with other publishers in smaller towns like Montrose, Kirkcudbright, and Dumfries.

My own first encounter with children's chapbooks as a phenomenon was whilst working on those for adults, and specifically the David Murray broadsides, held in Glasgow University's department of Special Collections. Digitising them as part of a project which went online in 2001, as considered elsewhere,[5] I noticed one or two titles which would appeal to children. There is a version of 'Cinderella', for instance as 'Catskin', a rhyming version of the traditional tale (AT 510B). There are also notes of children's titles in the 'List of 24 texts' from the Glasgow publisher Francis Orr and Sons.[6] This includes printings of pieces such as '"Aladdin, or the Magical Lamp", &c.' Murray was not particularly interested, however, in collecting children's materials specifically, and so these are isolated specimens within his wider collection.

It seemed that other Scottish collectors were of a similar mind, with a few exceptions such as Walter Scott, whose library at Abbotsford includes over one hundred children's titles, some from his own childhood. Looking at the National Library of Scotland's groundbreaking *Word on the Street* website,[7] too, reveals little in the way of children's materials. The fact that children's chapbooks are underrepresented in what are often sizeable collections, is perhaps related to their intended audience – children's chapbooks, within an ephemeral form of print, would be particularly vulnerable to destruction. Equally, like other genres of children's folklore, they may have just been set aside, or overlooked, by adult collectors once they attained maturity.

Historically too, children had access to some forms of adult literature in a way they perhaps do not today. They would have heard it performed at fairs and markets, and seen chapmen door to door with their wares. I recall Scottish traveller storytellers, including Stanley Robertson and Duncan Williamson, talking about how, as children listening to stories, they never went through a 'wee ba ba' stage. Nineteenth-century children were similarly privileged, and exposed to slightly more lurid material than we would allow now. Children would no doubt have been attracted to adult material given its attractiveness – take, for instance, the anti-temperance hand coloured example of 'One Glass More' in Glasgow's Special Collections.[8]

There are many abridgements of adult fiction, too, specifically customised for children. Examples include Lumsden's printing of *Gulliver's Travels,* a

'retelling of the story' with beautifully composed and compelling illustrations. Chapbook and broadside publishers tended, with a few exceptions, to specialise in materials either for adults or children, specialist printers for children including the house that published *The Adventures of Captain Gulliver* – James Lumsden & Sons of Glasgow. This publisher was active between 1783 and 1892, producing a variety of printed materials, from tide tables (which they had a copyright claim to – suing Andrew Orr in 1836 for breaching this) to housekeepers' account books. The second James Lumsden was Lord Provost of Glasgow from 1843–45. Lumsden produced a variety of material aimed at children, including 'dabbities', or coloured pictures – children would stick a pin into a book. If they found a picture, they won it.

Glasgow University has two bound sets of Lumsden 'Toy Books'. They are small, around eight inches long by four wide. Some look very well used, and are bound and labelled, either by the firm at point of sale or by, perhaps, their owners. Others appear to have been untouched and may, as Connor suggests, have come fresh from the printers' unsold stock.

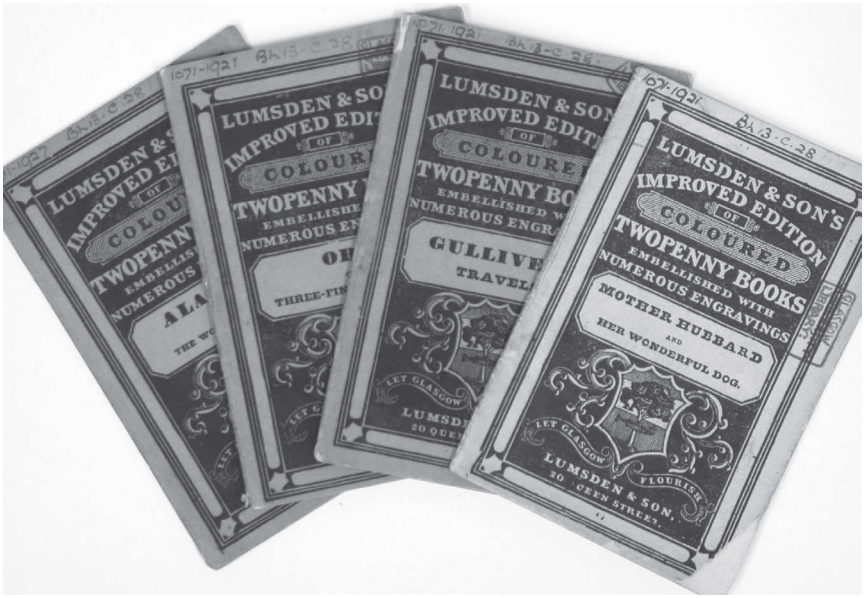

Figure 1: four editions of Lumsden & Sons 'Toy Books'.
Photo courtesy of Glasgow University Library Special Collections.

Glasgow University's Special Collections mounted a virtual exhibition of children's literature in 2008, which is still online. Many are in excellent, and probably unsold, condition.[9] A range of materials is included, from well-known fairy tales, to religious and educational tracts, to abridgements of books intended for adults, and sensational tales. The majority are at once moral and didactic and, in short, 'Entertaining and instructing histories'.

Entertaining Stories

From picture-orientated books to those intended for older children, Scottish chapbooks include a range of amusing material. Of the first kind, some texts from Scottish printers, too, are reprinted from English publications in a pretty much unchanged state. *Old Mother Hubbard,* for instance, is very visually striking. This was first published in London in 1805 by Sarah Catherine Martin, and reprinted and adapted for the Glasgow audience by Lumsden and sons. *Old Mother Hubbard,* as a nineteenth century entity, is a much longer, and fuller, work than the verse still well known, and much reprinted in children's anthologies, today:

> Old Mother Hubbard
> Went to the cupboard
> To give her poor dog a bone:
> When she was there,
> The cupboard was bare,
> And so the poor dog had none.

In the fuller, and chapbook, version, Mother Hubbard seeks food for her dog in a variety of settings, each time returning to a humorous – and beautifully illustrated, in the volume – situation. Many feature substances which would be hidden from a modern-day child, such as tobacco and alcohol, in various forms, as well as tricks from the dog, which anticipate the humour of modern writers from Scotland and beyond – from Roald Dahl to Julia Donaldson. There are multiple verses, and adventures, including the following:

She went to the bakers
To by him some bread;
When she came back
The dog was dead.

She went to the undertakers
To buy him a coffin;
When she came back,
The dog was a-laughing.

She took a clean dish,
To get him some tripe;
When she came back,
He was smoking a pipe.

She went to the ale-house
To buy him some beer;
When she came back,
The dog sat in a chair.

The story of Mother Hubbard had originally been published by J. Harris and Son in 1805 as a London toy-book, entitled *The Comic Adventures of Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog* by SCM, or Sarah Catherine Martin (1768–1826), selling ten thousand copies in a few months. The British Museum Catalogue includes fifty different versions. The first three verses printed in 1797 in Samuel Arnold's *Juvenile Amusements* were traditional – Martin added another eleven herself.[10] Those versions which followed were based on the 1805 volume, with variations – for instance several of the Scottish versions reverse the position of Old Mother Hubbard and her dog.

For the older child, with a more sophisticated reading age (whether read to, or reading her or himself), there are a great many chapbooks featuring wonder, or fairy, tales which are still well known: 'Jack the Giant Killer' and the story of 'Aladdin', for instance, complete with exotic, and highly appealing

illustrations for young audiences. Many of these texts are hand-coloured – a practice known to have been often done by low-paid workers, including children and women.

Scottish children, as might be expected, of course had access to literature generated furth of Scotland from centres of printing in London, Dublin and elsewhere. As with *Mother Hubbard*, other instructional and entertaining texts were imported. For instance, there is *The Child's New Spelling Primer, Or first book for children, to which is added the story of Cinderilla* [sic] *and the Little Red Riding Hood,* published in Dublin by T. Wilkinson of No. 40 Winetavern-Street in 1799, and sold for two pence.[11] The primer section includes 'The Alphabet, Small Letters', 'The Alphabet, Capital Letters', and tables with examples including 'A Vowel and a consonant', 'A consonant and a Vowel' and 'Words of two letters'. The story of 'Cinderilla', which follows, though, is perhaps a treat to keep the child engaged.

This version would be immediately recognisable to the modern child (as to those who knew their Perrault). Here, for instance, is the famous transformation sequence, as Cinderilla is turned into a bride fit for a prince. After a 'pompion' from the garden has been turned into a gilt carriage, and six mouse-trap mice into six 'beautiful mouse-coloured dapple-grey' horses, Cinderilla makes a helpful suggestion:

> I will go and see, says *Cinderilla*, if there be ever a rat in the rat-trap, we may make a coachman of him. Thou art in the right, reply'd her godmother, go and look. *Cinderilla* brought the trap to her, and in it were three huge rats. The *Fairy* made choice of one of the three, which had the largest beard, and having touched him with her wand, he was turned into a fat jolly coachman, who had the smartest whiskers eyes ever beheld.
>
> After that she said to her, go again into the garden and you will find six lizards behind the watering-pot, bring them to me. She had no sooner done it, than her godmother turned them into six footmen, who skipped up immediately behind the coach, with their liveries all bedaubed with gold and silver, and clung as close behind each other, as if they had done nothing else all their whole lives. The *Fairy*

> then said to *Cinderilla,* Well, you see her an Equipage fit to go to the ball with, are you not pleased with it? O! yes, cry'd she, but must I go thither as I am, in these poisoned nasty rags? Her Godmother only just touched her with her wand, and at the same instant her clothes were turned into cloth of gold and silver, all beset with jewels. This done she gave her a pair of glass slippers, the prettiest in the whole world. (pp. 17–19).

There are, it must be admitted, instructional elements even within this beguiling sequence, and entertaining tale. Cinderilla has impeccable manners, thanking her godmother for her help, and also exhibits spirit, jesting with her unpleasant sisters by asking, on the following night, for clothes she knows they will not spare for her. In this tale the action is focussed very firmly on the three girls, rather than on the girls and a stepmother – the tale is presented more as sibling rivalry than is usual in traditional versions. Cinderilla is kind to the sisters, too, at the second ball she attends, 'shewing them a thousand Civillities [*sic*], giving them a part of the oranges and citrons which the Prince had presented her with; which very much surprised them, for they did not know her' (p. 21).

The chapbook, with such details, instructs the child in how to behave, offering entertainment, too, with detailed and engaging descriptions, and humorous details. When, for instance, Cinderilla's lost glass slipper is presented at her home, she pretends, 'laughing', not to know it is hers. Here, for instance, at the point of the story when the prince's envoy arrives with Cinderilla's glass slipper:

> The gentleman who was sent to try the slipper looked earnestly at *Cinderilla,* and finding her very handsome, said, it was but just she should try […] he obliged *Cinderilla* to sit down, and putting the slipper to her foot, he found it went on very easily, and fitted her, as if it had been made of wax. The astonishment her two sisters were in, was excessively great, but still abundantly greater when *Cinderilla* pulled out of her pocket the other slipper, and put it on her foot. Thereupon in came her godmother, who having touched with her

> wand *Cinderilla*'s clothes, made them richer and more magnificent than any of those she had before (p. 27).

In a less familiar detail to other traditional versions, though, her sisters, rather than being punished, are given an opportunity to repent:

> Thew [sic] threw themselves at her feet, to beg pardon for their ill treatment they had made her undergo. *Cinderilla* took them up, and, as she embraced them, said, that she forgave them with all her heart, and desired them always to love her. She was conducted to the young prince, dressed as she was; he thought her more charming than ever, and a few days after he married her. *Cinderilla* who was no less good than beautiful, gave her two sisters lodgings in the palace, and that very same day matched them with two great lords. (pp. 27–28)

Cinderilla's companion tale, equally, has an unexpected ending, at least from the modern reader's perspective. The second tale is arguably darker, too, than its standard models.

'The Story of the Little Red Riding-Hood', unlike the detailed *Cinderilla,* presents the bare bones of a well-known tale. Sent to her ailing grandmother's with 'a custard and this little pot of butter' (p. 29), Red Riding Hood meets 'gaffer *Wolf'* in the wood, 'who had a very great mind to eat her up, but he durst not, because of some faggot-makers hard by in the forest' (p. 29). Directed to the grandmother's house by the gullible girl, the Wolf says, '*I'll go and see her too; I'll go this way, and you go that, and we shall see who shall be there soonest*'; whilst Wolf runs, the girl takes longer, 'diverting herself in gathering nuts, running after butterflies, and making nosegays with such little flowers as she met with' (p. 30). This gives the Wolf an opportunity and, tricking the grandmother into letting him in, 'he fell upon the good woman, and eat her up in a moment, for it was above three days that he had not touched a bit' (p. 31). Fooling Little Red Riding Hood into entering the bed beside him, the Wolf engages in the traditional dialogue with the innocent girl:

> *Little Red Riding-Hood* undressed herself, and went into bed; where, being greatly amazed to see how her grandmother looked in her night clothes, said to her, *grand mamma, what great arms you have got! that is all the better to hug thee, my dear, grand mamma, what great ears you have got! that is to hear the better my child, grand mamma, what great eyes you have got! it is to see the better my child, grand mamma, what great teeth you have got! that is to eat thee up:* and, saying these words, the wicked *Wolf* fell upon *Little Red Riding-Hood,* and eat her all up.
>
> FINIS.

For this Wolf there is no come-back, no counteracting Woodsman, just a hearty meal from a gullible girl who does not take care faced with the dangers in the wood. The message for children is a clear one: do not trust strangers or you may come to a sticky end.

Instructing Histories

A huge number of children's chapbooks are, like those just discussed, 'instructing', but in much more overt ways than the two stories above. They present unambiguous and sometimes frightening messages for the purposes of religious and moral education. The term 'Instruction' or 'Instructing', indeed, may even be in their titles, as with *Nurse Dandlem's Little Repository of Great Instruction,* published in Glasgow.[12]

A particularly rich religious example is the Rev I. Watt's *Twenty-Eight Divine Songs for the Use of Children; and a Catechism of the Principles of Religion, for Children from Seven to Twelve Years of age,* published in Edinburgh in 1798, and it is worth reviewing its contents in detail – they are typical of their type.[13] The volume opens with a maxim, no doubt familiar to nineteenth-century Scottish children, from Matthew xxi 16, 'Out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings thou hast perfected praise'. Most of the included pieces are purposefully age-appropriate, and in a period-appropriate way which echoes many assumptions about the Victorian worldview. Song I, for instance, 'A general Song of Praise to God', puts the child reader firmly in her or his place: 'How shall a child presume to sing / His dreadful Majesty?'

(verse 1). This is followed by a piece simply voicing 'Praise for Creation and Providence' (Song II) and an appreciative and patriotic Song in 'Praise for birth and Education in a Christian land' (Song VI):

> Tis to thy sovereign grace I owe,
> That I was born on British ground,
> Where streams of heav'nly mercy flow,
> And words of sweet salvation sound.

The singer of this song, 'would not change my native land / For rich Peru, with all her gold', for in reach there is a 'noble prize' attainable, given pride in the British empire, through Christian repentance and worship. Song VII, 'The Excellency of the Bible' is a child's plea to 'let me love my Bible more', in an effort to attain 'Pardon for all my sins'. Praise is a recurrent theme, often tailored to a child's limited and specific experience of the world as in Song VIII, 'Praise to God for learning to Read':

> The praises of my tongue
> I offer to the Lord,
> That I was taught and learnt so young
> To read his holy word.

Many pieces are of a nature that modern parents would hesitate to recommend or condone, although very much in tune with the sentiment and, indeed, popular poetry of the nineteenth century.[14] Song X, 'Thoughts of God and Death', for instance, adopts a stark, almost brutal stance, in encouraging children to behave appropriately, fearing God's 'wrath' and seeking his 'love':

> Let me improve the hours I have,
> Before the day of grace is fled;
> There's no repentance in the grave,
> Nor pardon offered to the dead.

Man, the song continues, like a felled tree, 'departs to heav'n or hell, / Fix'd in the state wherein he dies (verses 5–6).

Song XI, 'Heaven and Hell' is even more specific and, no doubt, intentionally terrifying, using fire and brimstone to encourage the best of behaviour in children. Whilst 'holy children, when they die' attain 'joy and love' in Heaven, the alternative is spelled out precisely: a 'dreadful hell' with 'everlasting pains': 'There sinners must with devils dwell, / In darkness, fire, and chains'. To avoid this 'such a wretch as I', must 'read' and 'pray' constantly: 'Lest I should be cut off to-day, / And sent t'eternal death'. An equally bleak message informs Song XIII, 'The Danger of Delay':

> Tis dangerous to provoke a God,
> His power and vengeance none can tell:
> One stroke of his almighty rod
> Shall send young sinners quick to hell.

Specific instruction, too, is given as to which behaviours to avoid, and which to adopt, to ensure salvation. Song XV, 'Against Lying', for instance, mentions how Ananias and his wife Sappira were 'struck dead' for lying:

> The Lord delights in them that speak
> The words of truth, but every liar
> Shall have his portion in the lake
> That burns with brimstone and with fire.

Children, it is stressed, should strive to live in harmony, by Song XVI, 'Against Quarrelling [*sic*] and Fighting': 'Let love through all our actions run, / And all our words be mild' (verse 3) and Song XVII, 'Love between Brothers and Sisters', which advises avoiding bickering, unlike Cain. There are songs 'Against scoffing and calling names' (XVIII), 'Against Swearing and Cursing, and taking God's name in vain' (XIX) and, in the memorable Song XX, 'Against Idleness and Mischief'. There, like bees, children are advised to be industrious, avoiding the 'idle hands' that 'Satan finds some

mischief' to fill, occupying themselves with 'books, or work, or healthful play' in an effort to give 'good account' of each day when they die.

Other songs warn against 'evil company' (XXI) and 'pride in clothes' (XXII), advocating 'Obedience to parents' (XXIII) and reading the Bible (XXIV). There are songs for specific occasions – 'A Morning Song' (XXVI), 'An Evening Song' (XXVII) and 'For the Lord's Day Morning' (XXVII) and 'The Lord's Day Evening' (XXVIII) – as well as prayers for daily use: '*The Infant's Morning-prayer*: Save me, O God, from evil, all this day long, and let me love and serve thee for ever, for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen*', and '*The Infant's Evening-prayer*': I Pray thee O Lord, forgive me whatsoever I have done amiss this day, and keep me safe all this night, for Christ's sake. *Amen*'.

These songs are bound along with '*A Catechism of the principles of religion for children from Seven to Twelve years of age, by the same author*', which includes questions and responses in tune with the tone of the Songs:

> Q67. *After the judgement, what shall become of the wicked?*
> A. The wicked shall be driven into hell fire, both soul and body, to be tormented with the devil and wicked spirits for ever.
> Q68. *And what shall be done to the righteous?*
> A. The Lord Jesus Christ shall carry the righteous up with him to heaven, both soul and body, to live there with GOD their Father and with his holy angels, in everlasting joy. *Amen*.

This representative chapbook, of the religious instructional type, is no doubt context-appropriate, perhaps intended for use in Sunday school or home devotions, or in the school room. It is certainly educational, if not entertaining, and with a tone which is firm and stern, rather than supportive and forgiving.

Similar comments apply to most lesson books, even those which appear, on first sight, to be secular in intention. *Easy Lessons for Children* (1799),[15] for example, which was printed in Glasgow, opens with the alphabet in different fonts, then lists possible combinations of vowels and consonants over three pages. Then there are simple words which become gradually

more complex including words like 'struck' and 'hutch'. Around thirty examples are listed in a block followed by empty space, presumably so children can copy and learn (pp. 2–10). This is followed by combinations of vowels and sounds, with examples, for instance 'ai ay au aw ee ei ey oi oy oo ou owe a eu ew ie oa ui', and gives examples of all of these, e.g. '(ei) Feign reign weight feint vein' (p. 14).

These practical literacy-building blocks are followed by lessons on behaviour and morality, presumably to be copied out. Like the chapbook previously mentioned, these strike the modern reader as rather brutal. Take, for instance: 'a Wise child will strive to learn, but one that is not wise will not do so. He that minds his book shall have praise, but he that will not learn **must feel the rod.** The wise child will think of his Book, and shall not be beat, the fool will mind play, and must be whipt' (p. 17). Other examples include:

> When you rise out of your bed in the morn, first pray to God, to bless and keep you this day, and all the days of your life, from all things that may hurt you. Give him thanks for his great love to you; for your health rest and strength; for his care of you, and all that he gives you. Let your first thought be of him; to him lift up your heart.
>
> Next, wash your hands and face clean; comb your hair; and then go to school. Walk in peace to and from school; let not your voice be heard in the street, nor give cause to those who see you, to say you are rude. Pull off your hat, or make a bow to those you meet, and know by the way, and to all your friends.
>
> When you come to school, first bow to him who is to teach you what you are to learn. Then sit down in your place, but make no noise all the time you are there. What you are to learn, do to the best of your skill; for that will be your own when you are gone from school.
>
> God made the world; by the word of the Lord the earth, the seas, and all things were made. He form'd the light: he gave the sun for a light by day, and the moon and stars for a light by night. He form'd the hills, the fowls of the air, the plants of the field, and herbs, for

> the use of man: he said, let them be, and it was so. O Lord, how great are thy works!
>
> The Lord he is God; it is he that hath made us and not we ourselves. He hath form'd us, that we should shew forth his praise. Why then hath the fool said in his heart, there is no God? Shall the work say of him that made it, he made it not? Ye fools, when will you be wise? (pp. 18–20)

Further advice includes that children should 'give alms' and 'walk not thou in the way of ill, men' (pp. 20–21). Children are told that 'God is a true God, most wise, just and good. There is but one god, and I ought to fear him, and in all my ways to trust in him, and please him. He is good to all'; 'He took on him the form of man, and did live a good life; he did preach good words and works to us, of God and the next world' (pp. 21–22), with the story of the resurrection given and analysed: 'He did die for the whole world, the sad death on the cross, for our sins, to make God a friend to us' (pp. 21–22). Children, in short, should 'love God with all our hearts, and do as we would be done by' (p. 23). Finally (p. 24), the child is reminded that:

> I must own my own sins, and give God praise, for he has been good to me. I must take care day by day, that my heart be not prone to pride […] I must set a watch on my mouth, and take care of my words. I must not tell a lie, nor mock at any one, nor call any one foul names […] I must be just in all my ways; I must love my friends, and speak well of all men. I can't do it in my own strength but in the strength of the grace of Christ, which I must ask of God for his sake.

'Instructing histories' in chapbook form, in short, are designed to imbue the child with what is presented as appropriate fear. The reader is made fully aware of their potential shortcomings, and given heavy deterrents against violating perceptions of good behaviour. And the consequence of poor choices, it is stated or implied, is everlasting damnation.

Entertaining and Instructing Histories

Despite these sombre observations, there are many examples of chapbooks which are at once instructional and entertaining. There is, for instance, an oft reprinted tale 'The History of Goody Two-Shoes with the Adventures of her brother Tommy', based on a tale first published for children in 1765 by John Newberry. This is a story about two orphans, Margery and Thomas Meanwell, left in dire straits after their parents' deaths, who make their way in the world through industry and kindness – Margery becomes a teacher and marries well; Thomas makes a fortune (and has appealing adventures) at sea. Margery is as kind to as she is industrious, and uses her wealth to help others. The story is as well known, and presumably well loved, in English chapbooks as in Scottish – Glasgow University's example was published around 1818 by James Lumsden and includes an account of Margery's brother's adventures at sea.[16]

Less familiar items to modern audiences, though, include *Obi, or Three-Fingered Jack*, a sensational story based on print and performance texts which were well known in the early nineteenth century.[17] This is the tale of a Jamaican outlaw of the late eighteenth century, associated here with magic. 'Three-Fingered Jack' Mansong supposedly escaped from slavery. Hiding out in the Jamaican Blue Mountains, he allegedly murdered hundreds of people before being captured two years later – by the marine who had taken off his missing two fingers. Jack's escape and capture story appeared in the *Royal Gazette* in Jamaica in the early 1780s, and early biographies presented him as the leader of a band of sixty escaped slaves. His by then well-known story was presented in London in 1800 by John Fawcett in the form of a dramatic musical *Obi: or Three-Fingered Jack*, a man protected by *obeah* (obi) or Afro-Caribbean magic. Fawcett's version was based on Benjamin Moseley's account of Jack in *A Treatise on Sugar*, which was published in London the same year.

Mansong's backstory is given in detail in the chapbook, introducing him as a character of daring and adventure, from the outset. The story of this 'daring marauder, who […] bid defiance for nearly two years to the military and civil power of the island of Jamaica, is related at speed,

with colour and detail, as he makes his first appearance in a dramatic and bloody incident:

> Onowauhee, his father, dwelt at Simbing, in the interior of Africa, adjoining the country of the Moors. He was in the decline of years; and his bullocks were frequently stolen by the Moorish robbers, who came in large plundering parties. One day a large party of the Moors came down, and drove before them the finest of the herds. The people stood at the doors of their huts affrighted, but Mansong lifted high his javelin, and struck it into the heart of the leader of the Moorish robbers, who fell dead upon the plain.
>
> The Moors threw back the javelin; the aim was good, and Mansong fell to the ground, bathed in his blood. He was borne to his father's hovel upon the shoulders of his countrymen, where he was laid upon a mat […] Onowauhee tore his hair in the bitterness of his grief; and casting himself on the cold body of his son, expired in sight of the bewildered spectators!
>
> Mansong was not, however, deprived of life. The javelin had pierced his breast, and a great effusion of blood succeeded; but he soon recovered, and resolved to revenge the death of his father. An opportunity soon presented himself, as the king of Bambarra had availed himself of a most frivolous pretext to declare war against Daisy, king of Kaarta. (pp. 4–5)[18]

The description has all the vigour of oral storytelling at its liveliest, and it continues at a pace, with energetic fast-moving action that would entertain the most quickly-bored of children. Having assisted the king of Kaarta to victory, Mansong declares his love for the king's 'beautiful daughter', Zaldwna but, before they can marry, the king of Bambarra challenges Kaarta again, unsuccessfully. However, the Bambarran king then manages to trick the Kaartans into thinking he wants peace, and Mansong is betrayed and captured – all of this over the course of one page of text (p. 6).

Despite the offer of four hundred slaves for Mansong's release, he is sold to an English captain and taken into slavery in Jamaica. As he is branded,

Mansong smiles, 'but he called upon the god of his country to witness his vows of vengeance on the European race' (p. 9) and the scene is set for the rebellion to come. From this point onwards, Jack (as he is now known) adopts magic, approaching Amalkir, a practitioner of Obi, who lives 'in a dreary cave in the Blue Mountains'. On 10 February 1780, he and his fellow slaves set Crawford Town alight, defying armed Marron soldiers, including a force of five hundred. The slaves are offered a pardon if they return and all of them do, except Jack, who returns to Amalkir and receives an obi horn from his mentor:

> a goat's horn, filled with a compound of earth dug from a grave, ashes, the blood of a black cat, and human fat, all mixed into a kind of paste; a cat's foot, a dried toad, a pig's tail, a slip of parchment of kid-skin, with characters marked with blood on it, were also in his obian bag.—These, with a sabre and two guns, were all his obi. (p. 11)

Remarking that 'it would be tedious to enumerate all the exploits of this famous robber', the chapbook lists only a few of them, including the shooting off of two of his fingers by Quashee, 'a negro', who intercepts Jack – leading to his nickname of 'Three-Fingered Jack' – and his ultimate capture by Quashee, renamed Reeder – 'his obi had no power over him now for he was christened' (p. 24). Jack's head and three fingered hand is cut off with a cutlass – these body parts, impaled, are illustrated in the chapbook – and put into a 'pail of rum' back in Morant Bay; a moral (perhaps unexpected) is then drawn:

> Thus fell Three-Fingered Jack, a man perhaps of as genuine courage as ever existed. Had he been left unmolested, he, in all human probability, would have lived happy, and been an ornament to his country. Those bright prospects were all blackened by the worst of traffics—the AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE!—a system long vindicated in the British senate by numbers of its members, on the same grounds, it may be supposed, on which the deeds of the murderer or the incendiary

> would be screened and vindicated—that is to say, if they chanced to bring an advantage, real or supposed, to the parties concerned. (p. 26)

In short, the appearance of *Obi, or Three Fingered Jack,* is a good example of how adult concerns informed literature intended for children in the nineteenth century. A tale like this relates adult adventures in an adult world – just as folk tales mix adult concerns into offerings which children can enjoy. This tale, in addition, is didactic (Jack gets his moral come-uppance for rebelling) and, by modern standards, racially offensive, even if it endeavours not to be so, as the closing statements show. Like many adult chapbooks it presents the ethnically 'other' as fearsome, incomprehensible and, to some extent, exciting.

The texts chosen here for discussion should be seen as representative, opening up discussion of this neglected subject rather than offering definitive answers relating to the significance and comprehensive characteristics of Scottish children's chapbook literature – whether generated in Scotland or read in Scotland. Whilst the production of children's chapbooks in Scotland has been considered before – albeit not very often – there is a wealth of material still to be examined and explored, in public and, in all probability, private collections. Children's chapbooks, seen as a whole, are entertaining, instructing and often both at the same time. Distinctively, they show a somewhat darker, more sensational range of ideas presented to children – from instruction based on establishing fear of damnation, to ideas regarding the ethnically other in international situations. To the modern reader this can seem strange and perplexing, but it offers a unique insight into nineteenth-century worldviews and what was thought suitable to induct children into adult reading and appropriate adult behaviours.

Notes

1 This chapter began as a paper delivered in 2015 at a conference held in Dumfries, co-organised by myself and Sarah Dunnigan: 'Scottish Children's Literature: Forgotten Histories, New Perspectives and J. M. Barrie'.

2 Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: a study in origins and meaning* (London: Jenkins, 1962); Claude M. Simpson, T*he British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1966); Edward J. Cowan and Mike Paterson, *Folk in Print. Scotland's Chapbook Heritage 1750–1850* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006); Victor E. Neuberg *The Penny Histories. A study of chapbooks for young readers over two centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

3 See Neuberg 1968, p. 30.

4 Kirsteen Connor, 'Youth's poison?: The creation and evolution of children's chapbooks in Scotland, 1800–1870', MPhil(R) thesis. University of Glasgow. 2010. theses.gla.ac.uk/1938.

5 www.gla.ac.uk/0t4/~dumfries/files/layer2/glasgow_broadside_ballads; see Valentina Bold, 'The David Murray Collection: From Scrapbook to Website', *Scottish Studies Review*, (Spring, 2004) 5(1): 33–39.

6 University of Glasgow Special Collections, Mu24-y1:145.

7 digital.nls.uk/broadsides.

8 University of Glasgow Special Collections Mu23-y1:006.

9 See special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/may2008.html.

10 Peter Opie and Iona Archibald Opie, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 374–80.

11 University of Glasgow Special Collections Bh13–30.

12 *Nurse Dandlem's Little Repository of Great Instruction, Containing the surprising Adventures of Little Wake Wilful, and his deliverance from the Giant Grumbolumbo. Written by the Famous Prussian, for the sole Amusement of the Chickabiddy Generation. Embellished with Copperplates. Glasgow? Published and Sold Wholesale, by J. Lumsden and Sons. Price. Twopence.*

13 *Twenty-Eight Divine Songs for the Use of Children; and a Catechism of the Principles of Religion, for Children from Seven to Twelve Years of age. By I. Watts, D.D. A New edition.* (Edinburgh: J. Ruthven Sons, 1798). University of Glasgow Special Collections Bh13-c.30.

14 See Valentina Bold, 'Beyond the empire of the gentle heart': Scottish women poets of the Nineteenth Century', in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy Macmillan (eds), *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 246–61.

15 *Easy Lessons for Children* (Glasgow: James Duncan, junior, bookseller, Saltmarket, 1799), University of Glasgow Special Collections Bh13-c.30.

16 University of Glasgow Special Collections Bh13-c.28.

17 See *The History and Adventure of Obi; or Three-Fingered Jack* (London: J. L. Marks, n.d.) and *The History of Three-Finger'd Jack, the Terror of Jamaica. Being the history on which is Founded the Pantomimical Drama of Obi; or Three-Fingered-Jack, Performed at the Haymarket Theatre* (London: S. Brown, 1800) and Diana Paton, 'The Afterlives of Three-Fingered Jack', *Slavery and the Cultures of Abolition: Essays Marking the Bicentennial of the British Abolition Act of 1807*, ed. Brycchan Carey and Peter Kitson (London: D. S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 42–63.

18 *The History and Adventures of Obi; or Three-Fingered Jack* (Glasgow: J. Lumsden & Son).

4. Nature versus Nurture: Robert Chambers as a Writer for Children

SHU-FANG LAI

Robert Chambers (1802–1871) is best known for the following reasons: founding and running the leading Scottish publishing firm with his elder brother William, and jointly editing *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*;[1] compiling biographical accounts of Burns and Scott; editing collections of Scottish rhymes and ballads;[2] producing a plethora of encyclopaedic books on the history of Scotland (in particular about the city of Edinburgh and the lives of particular eminent Scots); enabling the production of school books and reference books at his family firm; and making a contribution to the history of Victorian science by writing and publishing anonymously in 1844 the controversial *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, which was representative of pre-Darwinian evolutionary thinking.[3] His older brother, William Chambers, opened his book shop on Broughton Street, Edinburgh, in 1809 and, with Robert's help, the publishing firm and the journal in 1832. Though both brothers were equally important in Victorian Scotland, for precision this chapter addresses the younger brother by his family name Chambers unless otherwise specified.

Some scholarly attempts have been made to address Chambers as a publisher-turned-writer and as a collector and promulgator of Scottish literature: for example, Sondra Miley Cooney's thesis, 'Publishers for the People: W. & R. Chambers, the early years, 1832–1850' (1970),[4] C. H. Layman's *Man of Letters: The Early Life and Love Letters of Robert Chambers* (1994), Robert Scholnick's article, 'The Fiery Cross of Knowledge: Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, 1832–1844',[5] and Sarah Dunnigan's chapter which explores Chambers in relation to two other Scottish writers in the light of their 're-enchantment' of oral and folk culture.[6] However, the place of Chambers or his journalism in the history of nineteenth-century children's literature in Scotland or of Victorian literature is yet to be uncovered. His collections

of Scottish rhymes, school books (published jointly with his brother), and 'fireside stories' (especially for the Christmas season) written for children in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* during its early years, was said to be 'read by factory hands, shepherds, milk-boys'.[7] All deserve critical attention, even if they might belong to the 'prehistory of children's literature', in John Townsend's words – 'material intended especially for children or young people'; 'story but not meant especially for children'.[8] His journalistic contributions especially need further assessment from the perspective of the history of child education. The present study thus addresses a body of writing related to, and for, children in the early years of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,* that Chambers either edited or wrote himself, before 1840 – the year when he moved to St Andrews temporarily to become engrossed in writing his controversial science book. Articles from forty of the earliest numbers of the journal were reprinted in book form entitled *Spirit of Chambers's Journal: Original Tales, Essays, and Sketches, Selected from the Work by William and Robert Chambers* (1834) (this makes no distinction between the two brothers). Meanwhile, Chambers's authentic articles, reprinted in the seven volumes (I–II, Essays familiar and humorous; III, Essays moral and economic; IV, Essays philosophical, sentimental, and historical sketches; V, History of the rebellion of 1745–46; VI, Traditions of Edinburgh; VII, Popular Rhymes of Scotland) of *Collected Writings of Robert Chambers* (1847) show the diversity of his early journalistic writings. Many articles demonstrate not only the contributor's narrative skills, but also ideas about children, nature, and education (or nurture), and many of the accounts can be associated with Chambers's evolutionary thinking in the pre-Darwinian age.

A look at the cultural milieu of nineteenth-century Scotland (especially its indigenous publishing business) provides insight into rapidly developing modes of children's literature. Admittedly, Sunday School magazines were the most common kind of children's reading materials; at least fifteen began during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.[9] Such religious periodicals mainly aimed to give children moral lessons or knowledge; they were often didactic and sometimes delightful; and, as can be observed, writing for children in the 1830s often occupied the threshold between

religious and non-religious works.[10] Then the book publishing industry also started to flourish in Victorian Scotland. Historians and literary critics have come to recognise the importance of nineteenth-century juvenile books, periodical writings, and textbooks[11] produced by W. & R. Chambers and other Scottish publishers.

Edinburgh was home to the first and pre-industrial printer, Oliver & Boyd, on the Royal Mile; and Thomas Nelson's started as a second-hand bookshop at 2 West Bow, just off the Grassmarket in Edinburgh. The Glasgow-based James Lumsden & Son, founded in 1783, published over 140 juvenile books including religious works and penny chapbooks; Blackie & Sons, founded in 1809 by John Blackie, published educational texts, children's books, and reprints of classics, as in their advert for a 'Great variety […] containing Moral and Useful Instruction and Amusement for Youth');[12] and, in the twentieth century, Blackie published the famous Flower Fairy books.[13]

In terms of nineteenth-century book history, the influence of these Scottish publishers extended beyond Scotland. In *A History of Children's Reading and Literature*, Alec Ellis considers the 1830s the beginning of a rapidly developing body of children's literature under the increasingly prominent influence of Scottish writers: from Catherine Sinclair's very popular *Holiday House* (1839), through the prolific work of Margaret Oliphant, R. M. Ballantyne and Charlotte Tucker in the 1860s, to that of George MacDonald and Andrew Lang in the 1870s.[14] In the periodicals market, family magazines such as *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* began to distinguish themselves from religious periodicals; for example, *The Children's Friend* (1826–60), launched by Rev. William Carus Wilson, and *The Child's Companion, and Juvenile Instructor* (1824–1929) issued by London's Religious Tract Society. The literary market was therefore ripe for the growth of more specialised and diverse literature for children in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.[15]

Right from its inception in April 1832, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* was very popular and widely circulated. Thirty thousand copies of the first issue were sold, and fifty thousand by the end of 1832. From April 1832, the firm started to extend the original hand-press to steam press for London editions, and in Dublin from 1833 onwards. By 1839, the subscriptions to the journal

were recorded as seventy-two thousand, with an all-time high of 86,750. The sales reached eighty-four thousand in 1844.[16] Robert, the younger brother, soon joined William to act as the sub-editor, and hereafter became one of the most prolific contributors to the early issues across many sub-genres. William is said to have 'entrepreneurial spirit' but was originally challenged by Robert's scepticism: Robert did not accept William's offer of partnership but promised to write occasional papers till the sales reached fifty thousand by the third number and he became a partner by issue fourteen.[17] They set out to publish '[l]argely unsigned or excerpted articles with an emphasis on moral instruction […] targeted at the lower and middle classes, particularly young people'.[18] According to the leading article in the first issue entitled 'The Editor's Address to his Readers' by its founder, William, he can 'see the straight path of moral responsibility' and 'shall adhere to the line of rectitude and duty' when launching the journal. The pricing policy was to ensure that 'the poorest labourer' can afford to purchase 'a meal of healthful, useful, and agreeable mental instruction' and that 'every school-boy shall be able to purchase with his pocket something calculated to influence his fate through life'. Therefore, each weekly issue, with eight pages sold for threepence, was just a bit more than the twopence price of a paper such as *The Scotsman*. 'I was once a boy', says the editor, declaring his wish to 'do a great deal for boys' whom he calls 'harmless little men'. He proclaims his knowledge about 'the kind of things they would like to read about, and a perusal of which would lead them to more abstruse of valuable studies'. He aims to furnish them with 'lots of nice little stories', scientific principles, 'things one's papa does not think of speaking to them about, because he is too busy'. Clearly, his targets amongst young readers are, by his own account, working-class children and school-age boys in particular.

Authorship at the very beginning of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* was largely unidentified,[19] but, according to Layman, his modern biographer, Chambers's contribution 'at first amounted to writing almost the whole of the journal himself'.[20] As can be observed, many articles indicate that they were 'taken from' or 'based on' books or articles in other journals, often recently published.[21] Columns including 'Rising Young Men', 'Column for

Young Men', 'Chambers's Library for Young People', 'A Word of Advice to Mothers', 'Girls, Wives, and Mothers', and 'Column for Fathers of Families' appeared continually in order to provide stable family reading materials. These journalistic essays, either written or edited by Chambers, together with his stories such as his tales featuring talking animals, as Tess Cosslett and April Louise Austin discuss,[22] well represent Chambers's approach toward children and juvenile education, and personal interest in the essence of human nature. In fact, some essays reflect his ruminations about human nature and evolutionary development. His works at this stage also make a fascinating contrast to Margaret Gatty, the proclaimed anti-Darwinian children's writer and natural history author (on marine biology) from Essex who founded *Aunt Judy's Magazine* for working-class children.[23]

Before investigating Chamber's writing for children, it is helpful to take a look at his contributions to *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* on the subject of children, childhood, and education; these provide an interesting precedent to the theories articulated later in *Vestiges of Natural History* about human nature and how to nurture it. Essays known to be by his own hand, together with his well-known natural history book, can be interestingly related to his fictional stories for children. Among Chambers's articles reprinted in the seven-volume collection of 1847,[24] there were essays included in the first two volumes of 'Essays Familiar and Humorous', giving insights into the nature of children and childhood, seen through the eyes of adults; they particularly shed light on his views about child-adult relationships and about theories of child development and early childhood education. For example, 'No-Childed and Many-Childed' (2 April 1836)[25] is a humorous account about raising children. The speaker first depicts the life of a childless couple who are also self-acclaimed 'great theoretical educators' who dwell in a mansion with everlasting cleanness and silence. They dread the trouble of rearing children themselves but criticise other parents for spoiling their children or being irrationally absorbed in grief for their death, while they themselves cannot help but be distressed for the death of their lapdog! The second part of the article is about becoming a parent. The narrator praises women for being more considerate than men because they then are 'peculiarly liable to be improved in general humanity by having children'.

Striking a chord with his brother William's emphasis on a readership of boys, Robert Chambers shows his own understanding about the nature of boyhood. In 'Little Boys' (2 May 1835), he calls them 'innocent little men' possessed of 'original innocence' who have 'all the beauty of the young leopard with undeveloped claws' but are still 'dependent and controllable'. He hails childhood as a 'chubby and cottony period of life' but recounts the terrible accident he once witnessed when a child turned into a street without the parent's notice and was crushed to death by a passing curricle. Then he dwells upon a child's first recognition of the meaning of money as the 'representative medium' through weighing up whether to purchase a lollipop or a picture-book with halfpence. In conclusion, Chambers encourages the adult readers to contemplate 'the innocent sports and nascent emotions' of early boyhood, and to derive from the company of children 'freshening and purifying feelings' which will improve their happiness and even moral nature. In 'Town Boys and Country Boys' (18 July 1835), boys raised in the countryside are compared with those in the city. The former have advantages, nourished by natural scenes and the rich legendary lore that 'awakes and delights their imagination'. In contrast, although the city of Edinburgh also has treasures – associated with the Castle, Holyrood Palace, the Grassmarket, Leith, and so on – children there are 'reared with their perceptive faculties only', and their imagination can only be evoked by literature. He encourages fathers to take their children out of town, for such a holiday can 'send a dispersive light of roseate hue throughout the whole of the subsequent of life'. It is 'a most economical means of increasing human happiness' because 'an inch-breadth of joy in childhood becomes in middle life an illumination for the whole theatre of the mind'. This piece distils Chambers's own life experience and what his biographer Layman calls 'rustic philosophy'.[26] The comparison clearly reflects his own childhood memories of Peebles (twenty-four miles away Edinburgh) along the River Tweed and his adult life in Edinburgh where he brought up his own children.[27]

Like the Romantic writers, Chambers often expresses nostalgic feelings toward childhood and advocates returning to its state. In 'Remains of Childishness in Manhood' (17 December 1836), he claims that he 'should most willingly throw off the work of manhood, and be the boy, in reality,

as well as in thought, tomorrow'. Childishness is a positive characteristic of adults that can be proved in cases of the greatest of men such as [Charles James] Fox and Mozart who exhibited the peculiarities of children, including child-like simplicity. He urges adult readers 'to preserve, into mature life, the cheerfulness of childhood, and its power of being easily pleased, is an excellent property in man'. It is even better for adults to add a child's 'gentle affections, its pureness of feeling, and its directness of purpose', so that they can, like children, be 'soft, sportive, kind, yielding, free from all malignity and duplicity'. Not only children but also juveniles are morally superior to adults who have lost the quality of innocence and can often exploit younger people. Notably, Chambers's 'young men' seem to encompass a wider age group here, if compared to the specific definition of 'young people from seven to fourteen' given by *Juvenile Magazine* (1788). 'Serviceable Young Men' (16 January 1836) looks at juvenile boys between eighteen and twenty-two years old. Sam Keene, the fictional protagonist 'devotes himself to an undue degree to the interests and pleasures of others', but adults, particularly some thoughtless ladies, tend to take the advantage of his good nature. As time passes by, Sam 'grew as staid and prudent as most people', and no longer exerts himself to serve and gratify others. The moral is: though losing innocence is inevitable when growing up, adults should try to regain it. The piece echoes the same appreciation of children and the child's nature as appeared in Chambers's earlier poem entitled 'Lines to a Little Boy', published in 1821 in *Kaleidoscope*, the journal which the Chambers brothers also jointly edited (and 'To a little Boy' again in *Blackwood's* 1835, July)[28]. In this fairly early poetic piece, the poet invites the child to 'come to my soul' and urges that the boy should 'still be fair and innocent'. Such whole-hearted praise interwoven with personal reflections is common in writing conceived in the wake of the Romantic appreciation of childhood innocence.

On the subject of child education, at least two imperatives can be discerned in articles written or edited by Chambers: the necessity of cultivating knowledge and building character. It was a general feature of most miscellaneous family magazines at that time to publish writings on scientific subjects that would suit readers of all ages. In order to write *Vestiges,* no doubt Chambers himself had to learn many branches of science: astronomy,

zoology, botany, geology, chemistry and so on. 'Artificial Memory' (26 January 1833) illustrates the system of memory by the German mnemonist, Gregor von Feinaigle (1760–1819) whose art of memory is, in modern terms, a performance of coding. 'Migration of Birds' is an account taken from an article in the opening issue of the new periodical, *The Field Naturalist's Magazine*, by James Rennie, the Scottish naturalist and professor of natural history and zoology at King's College, London until he emigrated to Australia in 1840. Such accounts of natural history and what is today called 'popular science' are abundant.

Many educational pieces for character-building clearly indicate Chambers's educational insights. 'The House of Numbers' (29 June 1844) is a self-revealing anti-Malthusian article in which the narrator describes his visit to his friend John Balderstone's house. John and his wife are found to be in good charge of their large family of twelve children who show 'happiness, health, good-temper, and sufficiency'. John's well-managed happy family is taken as evidence that a large population of families can still be well-sustained if parents provide their children with constant kindness and affection. Perhaps significantly, Chambers married Anne Kirkwood in 1829, and from 1831 on the couple had fourteen children (three of whom died in infancy); this piece might therefore be a self-portrait of Chambers's own family life.

'Jacobinism in the Nursery' (9 August 1845) is especially illuminating about Chambers's educational ideas. The account begins with the adult's common but false presupposition that the young are naturally mischievous with the result that inappropriate methods are adopted to correct them. For any society to have such remedies is a kind of 'absolutism' (p. 407) and a 'vast tyranny' (p. 408). It is most cruel for the 'big man', however well-meaning, to make the 'little man' suffer. This kind of treatment should be repudiated. '*Reason* and *affection* are the true bases of the relation of parent and children' that are also 'the bases of all good society relations' (italics added, p. 408). A child is 'like a flower which requires the light and warmth'; if 'placed in a cold cellar, where it never can acquire its proper proportions, or colouring, or vigour', she or he can never attain the proper characteristics of a well-constituted and healthy woman or man. This stems from Chambers's belief that children and adults share the same feelings and should not be

treated as inferior. Here, he strongly argues against the educational system of 'restraints and privations' that only deprive children of feelings and affect their ability to reason (p. 408). 'To give their faculties a chance of being rightly developed', adults must:

> never address to them a rude, harsh, or discourteous word; never exhibit before them any such passion as anger, or appeal to so mean a thing as punishment for effecting an end with them. Coming before them as friendly associates, possessing some advantage over them in point of experience and maturity of judgment, I would look for influence over them, as far as I desire any, simply to the love which long course of endearing conduct must unavoidably engender in their breasts […] (pp. 410–11).

Chambers believes that there is no need for 'the perpetual ordering and directing which some parents deem necessary'. Under such a system, 'the infantine mind would expand much more vigorously than it usually does under the rule of fear. The product must be a man instead of a slave' (411). In the end, he urges adults to abandon what he calls the 'system of terror' that only results in 'hypocritical docility', and to allow children's minds 'to expand to their fair proportions instead of being cramped and withered by base cruelty' (412). In short, Chambers advocates an emotional-oriented educational approach over knowledge-based training in order to promote a good parent-child relationship. The core issue lies in adults' respect for children's independence and autonomy. Similarly, in 'A Pleading for the Young', he rebukes the wrong kind of education that means 'children are not managed as children'. 'Much play, free vent to the spirit of jocundity' is 'the proper maxim for the management of young people, because it is what nature dictates'. Here, on behalf of children, he makes a plea for a childhood and youth that is not only 'a positive period of happiness' but also 'one of the highest sources of enjoyment for the reminder of their existence'. Collectively, these journalistic essays advocate an educational theory which stipulates that adults should treat young people as their equal; that parental love is the best policy for early childhood education; and, ultimately, that

parents have a duty to nourish a child's imagination while cultivating all their good characteristics.

The above pieces, imbued with Chambers's high regard for children and youth, paradoxically appear to contrast with another group of articles, and what he would argue later in his *Vestiges* (1844), the controversial pre-Darwinian work on natural laws in which Chambers compares the minds of youth with those of other animals.[29] Chambers places more emphasis on the function of education, taking it as a positive force to impel improvement from the 'primitive' animal stage to maturity. Adulthood is seen as a kind of improvement or a further evolved stage: 'There are clever dogs and wicked horses, as well as clever men and wicked men', says Chambers, 'and education sharpens the talents, and in some degree regulates the dispositions of animals, as it does our own' (p. 351). Here he pins down the two functions of education: 'to sharpen one's talents' and 'to regulate the dispositions'. 'Man is therefore a piece of mechanism' that 'can imagine a state of moral perfection' but 'could not realize it' (p. 355). He perceives the gap between the individual's moral consciousness and actual moral conduct, asserting that:

> There ever will, in the best disposed and most disciplined minds, be occasional discrepancies between the amount of temptation and the power summoned for regulation or resistance, or between the stimulus and the mobility of the faculty; and hence those errors, and shortcomings, and excesses, without end, with which the good are constantly finding cause to charge themselves. There is at the same time even here a possibility of improvement. In infancy, the impulses are all of them irregular; a child is cruel, cunning, and false, under the slightest temptation, but in time learns to control these inclinations, and to be habitually humane, frank, and truthful […] To such improvements there is a natural tendency which will operate in all fair circumstances, though it is not to be expected that irregular and undue impulses will ever be altogether banished from the system (p. 355).

From the antithesis between a child's 'irregular' and undisciplined temper and an adult's controllable and 'regulated' nature, Chambers allows for the

'possibility of improvement' in the human individual, despite 'errors, and shortcomings, and excesses'.

In his *Vestiges*, Chambers establishes a fairly rudimentary evolutionary 'hierarchy', believing that human brains in youth are closer to that of animals: 'But when the human brain is congenitally imperfect or diseased, or when it is in the state of infancy, we see in it an approach towards the character of the brains of some of the inferior animals' (p. 346). He also refers to Dr G. J. Davey's statement in the *Phrenological Journal* to support his argument. Observing his patients at the Hanwell Lunatic Asylum, the doctor found 'indications of a particular abnormal cerebration which forcibly reminded him of the specific healthy characteristics of animals lower in the scale of organization', and that 'the actions of children, especially in their moments of play, and where their selfish feelings are concerned, bear a resemblance to those of certain familiar animals'.[30] Chambers gives an anecdotal example of children's behaviours similar to a pampered lap-dog's hiding food from another dog with which it lives so as to enjoy it afterwards alone; he concludes that '[t]he grades of mind, like the forms of being, are mere stages of development' (*Vestiges*, pp. 346–47). The later articulation of his evolutionary thinking clearly strikes an allusive chord with his attitude toward children and education.

Regulating the Behaviour of the Young

In *Vestiges*, Chambers rendered what he considers to be the principles of education: to 'regulate' the 'primitive' constitutions of humans close to animal dispositions and to resist temptations. Similar approaches can be traced in many articles with educational import, such as 'Fathers have Flinty Hearts' (18 February 1832), 'Acquaintances' (31 March 1832) and 'Debtors and Creditors' (9 June 1832) under the same column – 'Fallacies of the Young' – or as leaders in the early issues. These articles are collected in the two volumes of reprinted selections entitled *Spirit of Chambers's Journal* (1834–35).

Didactic essays evidently aimed at young readers appeared in the first decade of *Chambers's Journal*. From the second issue onward, a series of articles appeared under the title 'Column for the Boys' that were drawn largely from William Clarke's encyclopedia, *The Boy's Own Book*.[31] The

subjects which were covered encompassed sports such as archery, shooting, and swimming; or natural history (articles about species such as ants and spiders). Then, in 1835, the column started to include two other kinds of articles: one addressed moral issues (such as honesty, manners, and prejudice); the other offered information about subjects as diverse as slang words and the choice of professions. As Sheila Egoff observes, 'a lessening of titles that suggest the kind of magazine [such as religious tracts] and an increase of titles that include the words "boys" and "Young man's" and "Young gentlemen's"' appeared in the mid nineteenth-century,[32] and *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* clearly reflects and absorbs this trend.

Since the column's inception, though, there was always the trace of moral teaching. For example, when dwelling on sports, the narrator followed Clarke's work closely in its emphasis on 'piety, morals and instruction of mind and soul';[33] even when discussing how to keep rabbits as pets (10 March 1832), the narrator compares and contrasts children brought up in the countryside and those in the city of Edinburgh. As the journal developed, the targeted readership for these special columns was extended to particular classes, such as 'Column for Little Girls' (13 June 1835) including 'A Story by Peter Parley, an American Writer';'Column for Young Men' with articles such as 'Forming Opinions' (21 February 1835),'Order at Public Meetings' (23 May 1835), 'Arithmetical Puzzles' (9 May 1840) and 'Rising in the World' (5 December 1835),[34] and 'Column for Very Young Ladies: Letter from a Father' (16 February 1833). The last is written in the form of epistle 'from a gentleman in our city [Edinburgh]' to his daughter. Some articles directly impart moral lessons; some instruct on etiquette and good manners; others teach how to cultivate good taste. The narrators of these special columns often directly address the young readers, seeking to form a more intimate author-reader relationship. Some of these pieces are taken from other publications, for example, the 'Column for Young Ladies' on 17 March 1832 is condensed from an article in *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits* (1829) about fashion. 'Education' (7 December 1833), a little poem by John Bowring taken from *Amulet* (1828), addresses a child as 'a bud of moral beauty' whom the 'dews of knowledge' and the 'light of virtue' can awaken in 'richest fragrance' and 'purest hues'.

In conclusion, the narrator argues that the attainment of 'virtue' is the most important element of a child's education.

Admittedly, many of these columns during the journal's early years follow the content, style, and tone of publications by religious societies such as The Religious Tract Society; of *Chambers's Tracts* published on 7 March 1846 which 'to bear on the cultivation of the feelings and understanding of the people – to impress correct views on important moral and social questions'; and of Robert Chambers's own *Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts* (9 vols., 1844–47). They also chime with the instructive serial, *Information for the People* (2 vols., 1833–35), including topics such as 'the "duty of life" (which is to discuss relationships within the family between neighbours, raising many moral issues)'.[35] Chambers must also have set himself as a model, drawing especially on his own experience of self-education through reading at the local bookstore in Peebles, the small Scottish town where he grew up. In his own words, 'I roamed through it [a book] like a bee' (58).

The narrator in 'Fathers have Flinty Hearts' (18 Feb. 1832) tries to 'warn' his juvenile readers against the fallacy and delusion that their fathers would 'impose a cruel restraint upon their children'. Rather than 'talking down' to the young readers, in a gentle and affectionate voice the speaker tries to persuade them how their parents were 'obliged to deny themselves to many indulgences, and toil hard in their respective duties'. In a 'New Way of Educating Young Ladies' (9 January 1836), the narrator aims to teach young girls about the perils of obstinacy. It shows the folly of a fictional character named Margaret who insists on going out to walk, regardless of her mother's advice about a likely rain shower, and ends up drenched. Here lies the moral lesson for young ladies that 'it is much better to obey their parents, and follow their counsel, than have their own way'. The same moral precept underpins 'The First Theft: A Story for Little Girls' (28 December 1833) which the narrator calls a 'nice little story', suitable as a Christmas present.

The didacticism of many of these articles parallels the temperance ethos promoted by the Temperance Movement in Scotland around the same time. Temperance societies had first appeared in Scotland during the 1820s, and Glasgow quickly became the forefront of the movement.[36] During the 1840s,

however, it was Edinburgh rather than Glasgow which became its centre. Temperance reformers held the belief that children were 'symbols of purity in urban Scotland'.[37] Indeed, Scotland has been credited with pioneering children's involvement in temperance activity. Leading figures such as John Hope (1807–1893), the Edinburgh-born lawyer and philanthropist, was the founder of the Trust of British League of Juvenile Abstainers in 1847 which encouraged children as young as six or seven to pledge 'total abstinence from alcohol, tabacco [*sic*] and opium', and to study the bible.[38] William McCulloch Ramsay from Fife founded the Ramsay Bible Guild in Portobello to promote Bible-reading and the wellbeing of working-class children.[39]

Even though some of Chambers's practical suggestions about how to develop moral rectitude in children resemble the claims of the temperance movement, his approach is not entirely congruent with the reforming protestantism seen in the works of Hope and Ramsay; rather, it is more Romantic. As exemplified in his columns for children and young readers, his gentle narrative tone is informative and instructive but also garnished with emotion and humour. They foster the image of a friendly and understanding speaker who is far from being strict and patronising. Judiciously adopted, this might help persuade young readers to comply with the speaker.

Touching the Child's Heart

Besides non-fiction articles, the journal also published poems and stories; although these were not explicitly intended for children, they still held an appeal for young readers. 'A Young Lady's Wish' (10 January 1835) by the Romantic woman poet and clergyman's wife , Maria Abdy, raises the issue of female education. It is taken from the charming gift book *New Year's Gift and Juvenile Souvenir* (1835).[40] The narrator, a school girl, complains about being 'depressed by a dull education' – the 'formal and lifeless' kind she has been receiving in Britain which makes her 'long to be finished in France'. She is concerned that she does not look graceful or charming enough and about her social skills (such as dancing or talking fluently in company). Although she longs to accommodate herself within society, she is dismayed by an education which emphasises the improvement of one's mind rather than appearance or comportment. Another voice, supposedly her mentor's,

tries to make the girl see her own 'folly', and reassures 'England's meek daughter' of her merits:

> Our land, famed for valour and beauty
> Has gifts yet more dear to impart.
> Domestic affection and duty
> The joys of the home and the heart
> O! if we would still go beyond others
> In knowledge and virtue advance.

In conclusion, the narrator praises the system of female education in Britain that affirms the importance of 'domestic affection and duty' and 'knowledge'. Abdy's vindication of women's education is in accord with the editor's own educational ideal which values intellectual above superficial skills. In contrast to this didactic poem, or the columns for boys or young men filled with moral advice, there are articles intended for the 'Little Girl'. These are predominantly fictional stories with educational intent. For example, 'Column for Little Girls: A Story' (13 June 1835) is a tale by Peter Parley, whose real name was Samuel Griswold Goodrich, the well-known American writer for children. Interestingly, he shares a similar personal background with Chambers: both self-educated booksellers and publishers-turned-writers. 'The First Theft: a Story for Little Girls' (28 December 1833) is taken from *Infant Annual,* a local Edinburgh journal that published stories specifically for girls. The story's young heroine, Emily Ascott, when in charge of her sick mother's keys, is tempted to steal sweets. A malicious servant, Sally, discovers this and begins to blackmail her; but she herself is caught stealing silver. Tormented by her conscience, Emily confesses the secret and learns her lesson.

Such writings demonstrate Chambers's editorial tendencies and proclivities. In terms of what seems like journalistic appropriation, this mode of 'borrowing' or 'reprinting' is nothing new in the Victorian periodical market; and Chambers always makes reference to the original sources. Another similar example is the story of 'The Pechs' (26 May 1832), inspired by Sir Walter Scott's 'The Resolve'. The story is about a black dwarf known as

'Bowed David', said to be descended from a legendary race in the remote past in Scotland. He later appears as the fictional character Elshender in *The Black Dwarf* (1816) in the first series of Scott's *Tales of My Landlord*. 'Every child in Scotland has heard of the Pechs, a race of small-haired men, who are said to have lived long ago, built all the huge castle and bridges in the country', the narrator observes. The Pechs were said to live in a hut (or more accurately a fairy bower) which was often visited by Scott while staying with Dr Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), the chaplain to the Black Watch in the 1745, as told by Jedediah Cleishbotham, Scott's imaginary editor in the introduction to his story.[41] The fictional narrative is a successor to Chambers's early book, *Life and Anecdotes of the Black Dwarf* (1820),[42] and his poem 'Grave of the Misanthrope' (1821) in the first but short-lived journal, *Kaleidoscope,* which he edited, about David Ritchie, a deformed and eccentric character living in a solitary cottage in the vale of Manor – the valley of Manor Water – near Peebles.

According to the elder brother William's retrospective account, the success of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* can be attributed to its original insistence that it was meant 'not merely to enlighten […] but to touch the heart—to purify the affections'.[43] In spite of their often-explicit didacticism, Chambers's fictional narratives are indeed able to touch readers' hearts and 'purify the affections'. Though some of his early tales and stories, as shown above, still follow the fashion of popular didactic children's literature by Romantic writers such as Hannah More and Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Chambers contributed more and more entertaining and imaginative pieces of literary quality which, like other popular works in children's magazines during the 1850s, 'toned down religious material to entertain children with a mix of fiction and secular instruction, not unfrequently using nature studies or featuring explorers and scientists as a means of merging instruction and entertainment'.[44] During his most productive years on the journal, he became part of a larger trend in other Victorian family magazines such as Dickens's *Household Worlds* and *All the Year Round*. In fact, W. H. Wills, who assisted Chambers with editing *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* as assistant editor from 1842 to 1844 and afterwards continued to assist and write for the journal, especially after marrying the brothers' youngest sister,

Janet, in 1846, went on to work for Dickens on his new journal *Household Words* in 1849. Henceforth, Wills became the novelist's most reliable editorial hand. Meantime, from 1846 onwards, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* began to publish novels and stories in serialisation. This practice was timely, rescuing the journal from declining subscription, an editorial choice that should be attributed to Wills, at a time when 'Robert was focused on his private authorship of *Vestiges* and the tone of the journal did not reflect his personal attention'.[45] Chambers's preoccupations with animals and the similarities between humans and animals are discussed by April Louise Austin, whose research concerns Chambers's editorial policy of improving his working-class readers and the 'positive attributes of natural history' in his stories.[46] Remarkable, often fantastic narratives about animals such as 'Character of Fish' (30 June 1832), 'Sports of Insects' (4 March 1832), 'Languages of Animals' (17 February 1844) and 'Do Animals Feel Pain?' (11 December 1847) are enchanting. In respect of the nature/nurture debate, they imaginatively render his theory of human nature, the differences among species, and the subject of education. At one point, Chambers quotes Scott's words about a dog: 'noble and incapable of deceit […] [having] a share of man's intelligence, but no share of man's falsehood […]. He is the friend of man, save when man justly incurs his enmity'.[47] This alludes to the white marble statue of Scott's monument, built between 1840–1844 by Sir John Steell (1804–1891), with one of Scott's loyal hounds at his feet staring up at its master's face. Portrayals of human-animal companionship can be seen everywhere in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*. Regarding the likeness of behaviour between children and animals, he footnotes, as noted earlier, the behaviour of a pampered lap-dog hiding any morsel under a rug for later eating and argues that he has 'seen children do the same thing'.[48] 'Bisset, The Animal Teacher' (24 November 1832) describes a cat's opera in Haymarket in 1759, while 'The Fire-Fancying Dog' (8 December 1832) is an anecdote about a dog named Tyke that always joined the firemen on duty. Many more fictional narratives cover subjects like natural science, human relationships, family and social life. Diana Dixon and Kirsten Drotner argue that children's journals were largely responsible for the popularisation of science, supplementing insufficient education through story-telling.[49] Unlike

writers closely associated with fairy tales such as George MacDonald, Anne Ritchie, and Edith Nesbit, Chambers, so immersed in natural history and science whilst influenced by Romanticism, is yet to be fully explored within this area. The popularisation of Victorian fairies and fairy tales can be attributed to 'cheap weeklies, which openly targeted working class readership' as Caroline Sumpter puts in *The Victorian Press and the Fairy Tale*; and Laurence Talairach-Vielmas also argues in *Fairy Tales, Natural History and Victorian Culture* that this was also strongly connected to the theory of evolution.[50] Again, Chambers is on the threshold between traditional folklore and literary fairy tales, especially in his animal stories. The complicated association between his fairy tales (about dwarves and giants), fanciful stories about animals with mysterious or humanlike talents, and his understanding of natural history is yet to be fully explored.

Chambers's fictional narratives for children in the later years are still open to critical assessment, especially his contributions after *Vestiges,* after Hans Christian Andersen's visit, now marked by a plaque on the wall at 73 East Trinity Road, to Edinburgh in 1847 where he was entertained widely by the local people,[51] and during the golden years of children's literature from the 1860s onwards. In this chapter, I have only been able to exemplify some early and representative pieces. 'Story of the Countess of Stairs' (28 September 1833), signed 'From Reekiana by Robert Chambers', is a supernatural tale based on Scott's narrative, 'Aunt Margaret's Mirror', about Lady Primrose, later Countess Stair, who was able to observe her husband abroad by means of a magical mirror. It ends with the lady's happy second marriage to the Earl of Stair. This thrilling supernatural narrative is a tale for all ages. There are other rewritten pieces like this that follow the tradition of Scottish storytelling. Though not explicitly intended for children, they are the kind of literature which has the capacity to cultivate a child's imagination. Distinctively, for the whole December issue of 1832, the journal brought out no other articles except fictional narratives – the editor must have decided that tale-telling was a special treat for this festive month.

Some conclusions can be drawn from the above observations. In his early editorial practice and writing for *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, Chambers began in the mode of the familiar instructive essay designed for

young readers. This partly reflected the legacy of Enlightenment thinking and placed explicit moral teaching and educational instruction at its heart. But other poems and narratives were also published, celebrating a Romantic inheritance of childhood innocence and intuition. Chambers can be seen to move gradually towards imaginative and fictional narratives which follow in a well-established Scottish tradition of folklore and storytelling with Gothic, horror, and fantastical elements.[52] This essay has documented Chambers's writing and editorial work for children right before the post-1850 flourishing of other children's periodicals.[53] In 1853 *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* became *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Arts,* and the novelist Leitch Ritchie from Glasgow and the author of the famous werewolf story for all ages, *The Man-Wolf* (1831), joined the editorial board. Robert Chambers ended his editorship in 1858 – by which time the journal had turned over a new leaf in its history.

Notes

1 *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 1832–54; *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art,* 1854–97; and *Chambers's Journal*, 1897–1956. The editors of the journal in the early years were William Chambers, no. 1-4, 1832–33; Robert and William Chambers, 1833–37; Robert Chambers, 1837–58 (assisted by Thomas Smibert, 1837–42; W. H. Wills, 1842–44; Leitch Ritchie, 1845–58), for all editors, see Darcy, C. P., 'Chambers's Journal', in *British Literary Magazine*, ed. Alvin Sullivan, vol. 2, The Romantic Age, 1789–1836 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983-84), 93–8 (p. 96). The journal went into numerous editions.

2 Robert Chambers, *Popular Rhymes, Fireside Stories, and Amusements of Scotland* (Edinburgh, W. & R. Chambers, 1842).

3 See James Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

4 Sondra Miley Cooney, 'Publishers for the People: W. & R. Chambers, The Early Years, 1832–1850' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ohio State University, 1970). Cooney also gave a paper, entitled 'A Man of Science Questions Medium', at an Interdisciplinary Nineteenth-Century Studies conference on 21 April 2007 on Robert's interest in séances, and she is said to be instrumental in returning the Chambers archives from the possession of Anthony Chambers, the last remaining family member that worked for W. & R. Chambers Publishing Company, to the National Library of Scotland.

5 *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 32 (1999): 324–58.

6 Sarah Dunnigan, 'Literary Metamorphoses and the Reframing of Enchantment: the Scottish Song and Folktale Collections of Cromek, Cunningham, and Robert Chambers', in Matthew Campbell and Michael Perraudin (eds), *The Voice of the People: Writing the European Folk Revival 1760-1914* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), pp. 49-64.

7 Sullivan, II, p. 95.
8 John Rowe Townsend, *Written for Children: An Outline of English-language Children's Literature* (1965; 6th American ed. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1996), p. 4.
9 Sheila Egoff, *Children's Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century: A Survey and Bibliography,* Literary Association Pamphlet, No. 8 (London: Library Association, 1951), p. 7.
10 See C. Stuart Hannabuss, 'Nineteenth Century Religious Periodicals for Children', *British Journal of Religion Education,* 6.1 (1983): pp. 20–40.
11 Their books for young children include William and Robert Chambers, *Second Book of Reading, for Use in Schools and for Private Instruction* (Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1838) and *First Book of Drawing; Being Exercises for Children and Young Persons on the Slate and Black Board* (Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball, 1846).
12 Padmini Ray Murray, 'Education', in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland,* vol. 3: Ambition and Industry 1800-80 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 324–41 (p. 330).
13 See David Finkelstein, 'Publishing 1830–80', in ibid. pp. 96–106 (p. 104).
14 Alec Ellis, *A History of Children's Reading and Literature* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1968), p. 65.
15 See Marjory Lang, 'Childhood's Companions: Mid-Victorian Children's Periodicals and the Critics', *VPR* 13 (1980), 17–31, and F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932).
16 Cf. C. H. Layman (ed.), *Man of Letters: The Early Life and Love Letters of Robert Chambers* (Edinburgh University Press, 1990), p. 175.
17 April Louise Austin, 'Animal Science and Sagacity in the *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 1832–1853' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kansas City, Missouri, 2010), p. 68.
18 Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), p. 106.
19 The journal is not completely indexed with the exception of the 2nd series (since 1844). Sue Thomas's *Indexes to Fiction in Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art, later Chambers's Journal, 3rd to 6th Series of Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, 1854–1910* (University of Queensland, 1989) provides the subject index for the 3rd to 6th series. The online database, 'C19: The Nineteenth Century Index', can be used to search some articles and authors when known. Among the holdings of the National Library of Scotland are '*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* Ledgers' with 'Notebook about payment, 1839–46', 'Manuscripts and Accompanying Letters to Editor of the Journal, 1832–49', and 'Manuscript of Robert Chambers'; see 'Inventory: Dep.341, W & R', NLS Manuscript Collections Division, 2007; rev. 2014.
20 Layman, p. 175.
21 Extracted or condensed pieces often appeared in *Chambers's*, such as 'The Game of Cricket' in 'Columns for Boys' (No. 21: 167) from *Boy's Own Book*; an account about fashion in 'Columns for Young Ladies' from the book *The Young Lady's Book* (No. 7:55); the poem 'Education' by John Bowring (No. 97: 360) from *Amulet* (1828); the poem 'A Young Lady's Wish' by Maria Abdy (known as Mrs Abdy) from *New Year's Gift and Juvenile Souvenir*; 'Migration of Birds' (No. 52: 415–16) from *The Field Naturalist's Magazine*, ed. James Rannie, 2 vols. (London: Orr and Smith, 1833–34); 'The First Theft: a Story for Little Girl' (No. 100: 379–80) from *Infant Annual*, etc.

22 Tess Cosslett, *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 1786–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Austin, op. cit.
23 For her life and works, see *DNB* and 'Margaret Gatty' (1809–1873)', *Parables From Nature By Margaret Gatty, With a Memoir by her daughter, Juliana Horatia Ewing*, 1st series (London: George Bell and Sons, 1885) ix–xxi.
24 Chambers, Robert, *Select Writings of Robert Chambers* (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1847).
25 For the sake of precision, I follow the common convention of documentation in periodical studies of addressing only the titles and the original publication dates in the journal, rather than the page references of the later reprint in book form.
26 Layman, p. 4.
27 See *Proceedings at Peebles, Wednesday, August 4, 1841, on Entertaining and Presenting the Freedom of the Burgh to Messrs. William and Robert Chambers,* reprinted from *The Scotsman*.
28 'Lines to a Little Boy' is collected in a limited reprint edition, *Poetical Remains of Robert Chambers* (1832, Edinburgh: 1833), pp. 53–55, with other poems from *Kaleidoscope*, except 'Mally Lee' which is based on an eighteenth-century poem; 'To a Little Boy' appears with the author's signature in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 38 (July 1835), p. 70.
29 *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (London: John Churchill, 1855), p. 351. It might be fascinating to recall that the etymology of the word 'pet' was originally a Scottish dialect of unknown origin, referred to in 1508 to mean 'indulged child' (OED).
30 Dr George James Davey's paper, 'Insanity in Connection with Phrenology', given on 25 June 1842, *Proceedings of the Phrenological Society*, *Phrenological Journal and Magazine of Moral Science*, xv (1842): 326–40 (p. 338).
31 William Clarke, *The Boy's Own Book: A Complete Encyclopedia of All the Diversions, Athletic, Scientific, and Recreative, of Boyhood and Youth* (London: Vizetelly, Branston and Company, 1829).
32 Egoff, p. 15.
33 Robert William Henderson, *Ball, Bat, and Bishop: The Origin of Ball Games* (University of Illinois Press, 2001), p. 153.
34 Later a half-column note with the same title 'Rising in the World' by William Cobbett appeared in the new series again (24 May 1845).
35 Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820-1860* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012), p. 76.
36 Irene Maver, 'Children and the Quest for Purity in the Nineteenth Century Scottish City', in *Paedagogica Historica*: *International Journal of the History of Education,* 33:3 (1997): 801–24 (p. 821).
37 Maver, p. 823.
38 See Maver, p. 814; see also Mike Huggins, *Vice and the Victorians*, and Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815–1872* 2nd edn (Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1994), pp. 100–01.
39 See Archie Foley and Margaret Munro, *Portobello and the Great War* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Press, 2013); for information about working-class readerships, see Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale Univerity Press, 2001) and E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963).

40 *New Year's Gilt and Juvenile Souvenir,* ed. Alaric Watts (London: Whittaker & Co., 1835), pp. 49–51.
41 He was also the Keeper of Advocates' Library in 1759, Professor of Natural History, Moral Philosophy, and Mathematics at the University of Edinburgh. In the new introduction to the later edition, Chambers's and other journalistic accounts are even mentioned: 'The following particulars concerning his figure and temper occur in the Scotts Magazine in 1817, and are now understood to have been communicated by the ingenious Mr. Robert Chambers of Edinburgh, who has recorded with much spirit the traditions of the Good Town, and, in other publications' (1830).
42 *The Life and Anecdotes of the Black Dwarf, Or David Ritchie, Commonly Called 'Bowed Davie' of Manor, Peeblesshire, the celebrated original of the character of Elshender in the Tales of my landlord; together with part of a curious journal found in his hut after his decease; ... to which is added an abridgement of the tale of 'The Black Dwarf'* (Edinburgh: W. Chambers, 1820).
43 William Chambers, *Memoir of Robert Chambers: with Autobiographic Reminiscences of William Chambers* (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers 1872), p. 241.
44 Laurence Talairach-Vielmas, *Fairy Tales, Natural History and Victorian Culture*. (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 27.
45 Layman, p. 78.
46 Austin, op. cit.
47 Robert Chambers, *Explanations: A Sequel to 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation'* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846), p. 2.
48 Chambers, *Explanations*, p. 255.
49 Diana Dixon, 'Children's Magazines and Science in the Nineteenth Century', *VPR* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2001): pp. 228–38; Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
50 Caroline Sumpter, *The Victorian Press and the Fairy Tale* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 6; Talairach-Vielmas, pp. 6–9.
51 See also 'Hans Andersen and Scotland', *Blackwood's Magazine* (April 1955): pp. 297–312.
52 See Donald Smith, *Storytelling Scotland: A Nation in Narrative* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001).
53 Including *Boy's Own Magazine, Magazine for Boys, Boy's Own Paper, Good Words for the Young,* and *Aunt Judy's Magazine*; for more information, see Ralph Rollington [H. J. Allingham], *A Brief History of Boys' Journals: with Interesting Facts about the Writers of Boys' Stories* (Leicester: Simpson, 1913).

5. The Scottish Nursery Muse: Scottish Poetry and the Children's Verse Tradition in the Victorian Period

KIRSTIE BLAIR

This chapter takes its cue from two anthologies published within three years of each other at the close of the nineteenth century: Andrew Lang's *The Blue Poetry Book* (1891) and Robert Ford's *Ballads of Bairnhood* (1894).[1] Lang and Ford were both Scottish writers and editors, though Lang at this point was a noted London-based literary critic, editor, anthropologist, collector of folklore and polymath, whose lavishly illustrated decorative anthology was published by Macmillan; whereas Ford, a working-class author of humorous Scots verse and prose, also a collector of traditional literature, and an editor of Scottish poets including Robert Burns and Robert Fergusson, published his simpler collection with the Paisley firm of Alexander Gardner, a publisher known for an active interest in politics as well as Scottish literature. Both anthologies make significant claims for the importance of a Scottish poetic tradition to children's literature, yet they point to two different strands of influence and to differing genres. Neither anthology – in common with other leading anthologies of their type – is interested in 'children's poetry' in the sense of poetry deliberately written for a child reader. Lang deliberately excludes 'poems about children, or especially intended for children', on the grounds that actual children are seldom interested in them.[2] Ford, on the other hand, defines his selection as poems 'relating to the subject of child-life', contextualising it within an existing (Scottish) tradition of 'nursery songs'.[3] One anthology assumes that Scottish poetry, primarily written (or, in the case of ballads, collected) in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is both exemplary of the kind of verse that children like to read, and an essential part of the cultural education of every British child. The other celebrates the living tradition of Scots verse about and for children as a vital part of the Scottish literary scene from the mid-Victorian

period onwards and, not coincidentally, as a cultural heritage inhabited and developed by working-class Scottish writers.

What is being argued here is that a consideration of these two interlinked strands shows the importance of Scottish poetry and the Scots language in Victorian verse cultures *for* and *about* children, and the corresponding significance of these verse cultures in relation to emerging questions about the value of Scottish literature and language. The individual poems discussed in the first half of this chapter, by Walter Scott and Thomas Campbell, were designated as children's poetry by Lang and others because they were considered eminently, or pre-eminently, suitable for child readers. They were co-opted as 'children's' poems in the course of the Victorian period rather than being consciously designed as such, and their protagonists are adults. The poems discussed in the second half of the chapter, in contrast, by the working-class writers William Miller, James Smith, and James Ballantine followed a differing trajectory. Made famous through their status as 'nursery songs', and strongly focused on the representation of Scottish working-class children and families, Miller and Ballantine's poems reached a wide audience through inclusion in the anthology *Songs for the Nursery*, first published by Glasgow bookseller and printer David Robertson as a supplement to the *Whistle Binkie* series of popular verse and song anthologies, and then as a separate volume aimed at child readers in 1844. Smith's later 'Wee Joukydaidles' first appeared in *The Scotsman*, before being widely republished. Through their status as popular Scottish songs, these poems also participated in performance culture, and were widely known to a mixed readership of adults and children.

'Nursery verse', a common appellation in the Victorian period, refers both to the expected location in which such verse will be set, and the location in which it will be read, whether by carers to children or by children themselves. Both sets of poems discussed here, and both types of poetry, are part of an ambiguous, cross-audienced verse culture, circulating in different guises, and aimed at child or adult readers at different points. Enormously popular in Scottish Victorian culture and beyond, nursery verse has been profoundly neglected and, where it has been noticed, deemed unworthy of

scholarly attention. Donelle Ruwe's recent study of British children's poetry from 1780 to 1835 notes that 'nursery verse has long been held in low esteem',[4] and as she and other critics have observed, poetry in general has received far less attention in children's literature studies than fiction.[5] Excellent recent monographs by Catherine Robson, on recitation in Britain and America, and Angela Sorby, on American poetry, have helped to remedy this through their highly relevant discussions of the role of poetry in Victorian pedagogy and the shaping of national identity through its anthologised use in the schoolroom.[6] But the explicit question of how Scottish poems fare in the 'cultural imperialism' of Victorian anthologies for children has never been raised, despite significant attention to the place of Scottish poetry in anthologies aimed at adult readers.[7] In terms of Scottish children's poetry produced during the Victorian period, moreover, only Robert Louis Stevenson's *A Child's Garden of Verses* (first published 1885) has attracted significant critical attention. As Morag Styles, who devoted a chapter of her seminal survey of children's verse to Stevenson, has argued, this is due to the 'belief that *A Child's Garden of Verses* is a pivotal collection which changed forever how children could be written for and about in poetry'.[8] Without disagreeing with this assessment, I would note that Stevenson's poems consciously interact with a pre-existing culture of Scottish verse and song. In the context of nursery verse he is an outlier, whose poems for children would have been less well known to Scottish readers than those discussed below.

I.

Lang's *Blue Poetry Book* opens with the statement that 'there was reason to dread that the volume might become altogether too Scottish':

> It is certainly a curious thing that in Mr Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, where some seventy poets are represented, scarcely more than a tenth of the number were born north of the Tweed. In this book, however, intended for lads and lassies, the poems by Campbell, by Sir Walter Scott, by Burns, by the Scottish song-writers, and the Scottish minstrels of the ballad, are in an unexpectedly large proportion to the poems by English authors.[9]

Roughly one-third of the space in the collection is occupied by poems by Scottish authors or anonymous Scottish ballads, and this does not include a number of other poems that are set in Scotland, notably Wordsworth's 'The Solitary Reaper', 'Yarrow Visited' and 'Yarrow Unvisited'. The final poem in the anthology, Wordsworth's sonnet 'On the Departure of Sir Walter Scott from Abbotsford to Naples', has the effect of highlighting which two poets Lang considered most important: Wordsworth and Scott, both heavily represented. The pedagogical intent behind his inclusion of so many Scottish poems lies in his argument that children are attracted to poems of 'action and adventure' and to 'objective' art – poems that tell a story, rather than poems that are primarily lyrical and reflective.[10] Scotland emerges from Lang's anthology in terms of a heroic past of chieftains, lords, and beautiful doomed women, engaged in dramatic acts of love and war in spectacular and dangerous natural settings. This is, of course, Scott's Scotland, equally familiar to late Victorian child readers through Scott's fiction.

Lang's reference to Francis Turner Palgrave's extraordinarily successful anthology, *The Golden Treasury* (first published in 1861), read by both adult and child audiences, suggests that Palgrave's view of the British poetic tradition was excessively English, and that Lang's collection will redress the balance. Palgrave, Lang implies, has prevented readers from accessing the vitality of a Scottish poetic tradition, with which every British child, and thus every British adult, ought to be familiar as part of their heritage. In fact, Lang's comment is not entirely fair to the *Treasury* or to Palgrave, whose attitude towards Scottish poetry and the child reader is very similar to Lang's. Judged not by number of authors but number of poems included, Burns, Scott and Campbell are strongly represented in the original 1861 *Treasury*: it contains an equal number of poems by Burns and Milton, and more poems by Burns and Scott than by either Byron or Keats. One section of the *Treasury*, which deliberately concentrates on poems from the lyrical and song traditions, featured nine Scottish songs in a row, a substantial indication of the importance of song in Scottish verse.[11]

Moreover, it is unlikely that Lang was unaware of Palgrave's venture into the children's anthology market, *A Child's Treasury of English Song*, published in two parts in 1875.[12] In the first part, over one-third of the content is by

Scottish writers, and across the two parts, Palgrave's content is very similar to that of Lang's later anthology. He also included longer (and more difficult, in terms of the dialect) poems by Burns, such as 'To a Field Mouse' (Palgrave's title). Most importantly, he defended the inclusion of poems in Scots. His endnote to the first Border ballad in the collection observes:

> So many beautiful pieces in prose and verse have been written in the Scots or North Country language that a great source of pleasure is lost by readers who will not take the small pains required to master the peculiarities of spelling and vocabulary.[13]

In defending his inclusion of two dialect poems by the Dorset poet William Barnes, Palgrave further comments that:

> During the last three centuries, the poetry written in the North Country or Scots form of English has been so much more important than that written in other forms, as to obscure the peculiar merits which each of them possesses.[14]

What child readers are learning from Palgrave's collections, then, is that they cannot engage with canonical poetry in English without a basic mastery of Scots. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* and Lang's *Blue Poetry Book* excluded living poets (*A Child's Treasury* does include them, but has no contemporary Scottish writers). The third most significant British anthology for children, and the earliest, Coventry Patmore's *The Children's Garland* (1862), did incorporate contemporary poetry, though the only poem included by a living Scottish poet is George MacDonald's 'Little White Lily', a Christian and sentimental flower-poem in standard English. While Patmore also includes a significant number of ballads, these strongly lean towards English settings and language; the greater absence of Scots is perhaps not surprising, since Patmore noted that he and Emily Patmore tested the poems by reading them aloud to their eight-year-old daughter.[15] Scott and Campbell still feature significantly, but the collection is oriented far more strongly towards English

and American Romantic poets, with Tennyson and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow as the pre-eminent contemporary poets in this tradition.

E. V. Lucas, himself the creator of an anthology for children, identified Patmore, Palgrave, and Lang, in an 1896 article, as the three most influential children's anthologists, in an article that substantively agrees with their collective opinion that child readers are uninterested in reading poems *about* children and prefer narrative verse. His major criticism of the anthologies is that they do not contain enough 'fun and irresponsibility'.[16] This is scarcely surprising, when each anthologist is setting out with the serious aim of educating child readers about the British literary canon, and thus encouraging them to become sophisticated readers of poetry (still, in the mid-Victorian period, by far the most respected literary genre) as adults. And these readers, of course, did not simply include children located in Britain, but children educated in British colonies, for whom anthologies like Palgrave's were a primary source of knowledge about English literature, and by extension the required knowledge for a cultured British citizen.

What, then, is the typical 'Scottish' poem for children conveying about the canon and its ideologies? Scott's 'Young Lochinvar', included by all three anthologists, is perhaps the best example of the construction of 'Scottish poetry' for children in this period. 'Young Lochinvar' was originally published as a song included in Scott's epic historical poem *Marmion* (1808), and rapidly broke free of its narrative setting to circulate as a recitation piece, in chapbooks and as a cheap broadside, and as a song, in various settings. Roger Fiske observes, rightly, that throughout the Victorian period it 'fired imaginations to an extent that seems hardly credible today.'[17] 'Young Lochinvar' is characterised by its driving anapaestic rhythm and couplets, mirroring the opening and closing lines in which the hero is galloping towards his true love's wedding and then away from it, having stolen the bride:

> Oh, young Lochinvar is come out of the west
> Through all the wide Border his steed was the best

> And save his good broadsword he weapons had none,
> He rode all unarm'd, and he rode all alone
> So faithful in love, and so dauntless in war
> There never was knight like the young Lochinvar.[18]

In the opening line, the present tense gives the narrative a sense of immediacy, while the unspecified romantic location of the 'west', as well as the fact that Lochinvar rides without companions, lends him an air of mystery. Lochinvar is admirable not simply because he is brave enough to enter a hall full of potential enemies alone and unarmed, but because he wins his lover away from her new husband by intelligence rather than violence. Seemingly dismissing their past romance, he asks for a last dance, then as the assembled company are caught up in admiring the measure of the galliard, he swings Ellen onto the horse and away:

> One touch to her hand, and one word in her ear,
> When they reach'd the hall-door, and the charger stood near;
> So light to the croupe the fair lady he swung,
> So light to the saddle before her he sprung!
> 'She is won! we are gone, over bank, bush, and scaur;
> They'll have fleet steeds that follow,' quoth young Lochinvar.[19]

As an example of Scottish balladry, then, this is perhaps unusual in that no blood is shed, and the ending is happy. While preserving a Scottish, archaic flavour in the language, it also does not require the reader to understand any Scots. Readers are given a model of male heroism, an exciting rescue and chase narrative, and an example of how formal effects, 'the wonderful swing and gallop' of Scott's verse, as Lang put it, can contribute to narrative force.[20]

Poems such as Thomas Campbell's enormously popular 'Lord Ullin's Daughter' (composed in 1790s, published in 1809) are part of the same imitative and revisionary tradition. Like 'Young Lochinvar', this poem featured in every anthology. Robson, citing the poem in entirety, comments:

> Had I been born in Great Britain some time between 1870 and 1920 and educated in a public elementary school, it is highly probable that I would have encountered this poem when I was nine; 'Lord Ullin's Daughter' frequently appeared in the classroom readers for this age group throughout that period and was a very popular choice for memorization and recitation.[21]

It is a fast-moving tale of elopement and escape:

> Now who be ye would cross Lochgyle,
> This dark and stormy water?'
> 'Oh! I'm the chief of Ulva's isle,
> And this Lord Ullin's daughter.
>
> 'And fast before her father's men
> Three days we've fled together,
> For should he find us in the glen,
> My blood would stain the heather.[22]

'Lord Ullin's Daughter' is formally closer to ballads than 'Young Lochinvar' in its metre and rhyme, and more similar in content in its tragic ending, in which the lovers and the brave boatman who ferries them are drowned in a storm. Featuring the sublime drama of the storm on the water, and ending with Lord Ullin's repentance on realising he has doomed his daughter to death, 'Lord Ullin's Daughter' fitted well into the tradition of tragic shipwreck narratives (often with the affective involvement of parents and child) which offered a frisson of terror and pathos in Victorian song and recitation, such as Felicia Hemans's 'Casabianca' and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 'The Wreck of the Hesperus'. Campbell's output as represented in the anthologies discussed here, however, differs to Scott's in that 'Lord Ullin's Daughter' is the only poem included which signals Campbell's Scottish background. As the author of perhaps the Victorian period's most popular patriotic poem, 'Ye Mariners of England,' Campbell was not a poet like Burns, or even like Scott, immediately identifiable in terms of his Scottish identity. He was a

cosmopolitan writer equally owned by readers across Britain. It is significant, for example, that Alfred Tennyson remembered Campbell's poems fondly from his own Lincolnshire childhood, and returned to them as a model for the kind of poetry he wished his young sons to memorise. As Emily Tennyson recorded in her journal in 1854:

> [Alfred] reads many of Campbell's poems, some of which he had read to me on the little yellow sofa near one of the drawing-room windows at Somersby & I said that if I lived to teach the boys, the patriotic songs should be among the first they should learn.[23]

The recollection of Somersby (Tennyson's childhood home) indicates that Tennyson also used these poems as part of his courtship. On Christmas Day 1856, Emily recorded that 'To the children he says 'Ye Mariners of England' & they repeat it with great glee'.[24] Campbell's patriotic poems were part of the proper upbringing for privileged English children from a wealthy literary household. Tennyson, as a close friend of Patmore and Palgrave, also played a significant role in the selection of poems for their anthologies, in all of which Campbell emerges as a major writer for children.

What Scott, Campbell, anonymous Border ballads, and the inclusion of Burns's love-songs and patriotic lyrics tend to suggest, in these anthologies, is that the qualities of being 'faithful in love, and dauntless in war', are essential for heroism in Scottish poetic narratives, and that Victorian child readers would tend to perceive Scottish poetry as characterised by rapid and exciting action, conveyed in memorable, repetitive forms which might easily fit to music. They also, less overtly, suggest that Scottish poetry might be a way to convert boys into poetry readers. In deciding to exclude poetry written for children, these anthologies are subtly excising women poets – who made up the vast bulk of writers for children – from the canon, including, in the case of post-1860s anthologies, one of the most important children's poets of the period, Christina Rossetti. As Velma Bourgeois Richmond has noted,[25] Victorian and Edwardian writers and editors were engaged in a wider rebranding and marketing of ballads as adventure stories for boys in works such as *The Boy's Book of Ballads* (1861) and the *Book of Brave Old*

Ballads (1870). These anthologies give little sense of Scots song and balladry as a tradition that might be associated with female performers and composers: they represent Scotland's poetic tradition as resolutely male and heroic, the stuff that young boys, like Hallam and Lionel Tennyson, might dream of.

Explicit in Lang's account, and implicit in other anthologies, is the notion that Scottish songs, ballads and narrative poetry will serve as preparation for the more challenging poems of the adult tradition. Although he does not intend it as an insult, Lang suggests that the Scottish poetic tradition is more suited to children than adults. There is a lurking anthropological background here. The fashionable late-Victorian theory that the progress from child to adult recapitulated the progress from 'primitive' to more developed cultures, was easily interpreted as indicating that children would naturally be attracted to ancient, more 'primitive', literature.[26] Despite Lang's disclaimers, his argument has the effect of situating Scottish poetry as an art-form suitable for those who, either from youth or lack of education, are not yet able to engage with sophisticated 'modern' poetics. The Scottish verse tradition is also firmly located in a misty, nostalgic Scottish past, rather than in a sense of Scotland as a powerful contributor to Victorian Britain's imperial, industrial, and cultural dominance. The best Scottish poets, these anthologies suggest, are those who have managed to recreate that past in the most convincing language, form, and narrative.

II.

Excluding poems about children from leading Victorian poetry anthologies for child readers did not simply exclude many women writers from the children's poetry canon, it also excluded a specifically Scottish tradition. Only John Greenleaf Whittier's anthology *Child Life* (1871), transatlantic in scope and collected by a well-known American author, acknowledges the popularity of the Glasgow-produced *Songs for the Nursery* (1844), thanking David Robertson in the acknowledgements. Whittier reprints four poems associated with *Whistle Binkie* and *Songs for the Nursery*: two songs by William Motherwell, Miller's 'Wee Willie Winkie', and Ballantine's 'Castles in the Air'. These poems, in the versions he uses, in which the Scots dialect is substantively replaced or anglicised, could already have been familiar to

American readers from Marianne Silsbee's rebranding of *Songs for the Nursery* for the North American market, *Willie Winkie's Nursery Songs of Scotland* (1859). Silsbee's preface comments that 'poets and learned men' wrote the songs in order 'to raise the standard of Nursery Literature and preserve the quaint and expressive idioms of the Scotch tongue', yet she considers that in order to introduce their work to the 'homes of New England', the poems have to be substantively altered.[27] Nonetheless, her work and Whittier's anthology, as well as the songs and broadsides discussed below, demonstrate how widely Scottish nursery verse circulated: so widely, indeed, that the absence of these contemporary Scottish poems from mid-late nineteenth-century British anthologies is marked.

The nursery verse tradition to which these poems belong, and which they helped to establish, is best exemplified in Ford's *Ballads of Bairnhood*, the culmination of over fifty years of an emphasis on such verse in the Scottish poetic tradition. As Ford notes in the introduction:

> The *Whistlebinkians* were the first in Scotland, or perhaps in the world, to give united attention to the music of the nursery, and their various efforts will not soon be forgotten.[28]

Ford's collection resembles the anthologies discussed above only in the near-total absence of women writers. Of the poets he collects, many are living, most were active in the Victorian period, and the vast majority are working men, as the biographies he includes suggest. This is in sharp contrast to the anthology Ford produced a decade later on the English and American nursery verse tradition, *Ballads of Babyland* (1905), which primarily includes canonical authors; Tennyson, Longfellow, and other usual suspects.[29] Only one out of 109 poets in this second collection – Gerald Massey – can be firmly identified as a working-class author. Without the illustrations, production values and corresponding gift-book status of Lang, Patmore, Palgrave, and Whittier's anthologies, Ford's *Ballads of Bairnhood* is not so evidently marketed to middle-class parents and children. It is more an effort to collect and preserve, for the benefit of readers engaged with Scotland's literary heritage, a popular verse culture that, due to its strong presence in ephemeral

locations such as the newspaper press, could be in danger of disappearing. It is located at the intersection between works such as Robert Chambers's *Popular Rhymes, Fireside Stories, and Amusements of Scotland* (first issued 1826 and in many subsequent editions), an important collection championing nursery rhyme and children's song, and D. H. Edwards' formidable multi-volume collection of *Modern Scottish Poets* (1880–97).

From Chambers's edition onwards, a renewed sense of interest in Scottish song and nursery rhymes for children was evident as part of a wider British and European interest in tracing the roots of folklore and preserving 'folk' traditions. But contemporary critics and editors were quick to note, or to argue, that Scotland possessed more extensive nursery verse, both traditional and newly minted, than England, and that this kind of writing about children was effectively embedded in Scottish working-class culture. Chambers suggested that he was collecting rhymes that amused people at 'the cottage fireside' and which represented the '*natural literature* of my native country.'[30] In reviewing Chambers's 1842 edition alongside James Orchard Halliwell's famous collection of English nursery rhymes, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* considered that the editions demonstrated that 'The lullabies of the English Nursery are very inferior in poetical spirit to a few of those from Scotland'; the reviewer also saw Halliwell's 'apparent ignorance of the northern dialects' as damaging to his status as the foremost expert on nursery rhyme.[31] Nursery verse was native to Scotland in a way that it was not to England. As another *Tait's* reviewer proudly commented on *Songs for the Nursery*, 'We know of no other country that could have produced it.'[32] By the later Victorian period, this view was entrenched. *Saint Paul's Magazine*, reflecting on the rise of 'child-poetry' in Victorian literature, comments:

> In England we must look for poems of this kind among the works of the great singers; but if we go to Scotland, we shall find a lyric in every cottage and a song for every cradle.[33]

Such attitudes, of course, contribute to what Suzanne Gilbert and others have identified as 'the nineteenth-century trend of infantilizing traditional expression',[34] seen at its most disturbing in the *Athenaeum*'s suggestion, in

reviewing *Ballads of Bairnhood*, that 'The very dialect is a sort of baby language, a language of caresses; and the best lullabies have generally had a touch of the Scots tongue about them'.[35]

It is these attitudes that led Hugh MacDiarmid and later critics to issue a categorical rejection of Victorian nursery verse, as exemplified by *Whistle Binkie* and *Songs from the Nursery* and reaching its apotheosis in *Ballads of Bairnhood*. In his polemical introduction to William Soutar's collected poems, for instance, MacDiarmid commented on Soutar's children's verse:

> [T]he reality of the Scottish Literary Renaissance Movement can hardly be better exemplified than just by the difference between these poems for Scots children and the previous sentimental trash designed for this purpose from the days of the *Whistle Binkie* school to our own time.[36]

This dismissive attitude has persisted. Gerard Carruthers, David Goldie, and Alistair Renfrew have recently satirically summarised twentieth-century views of the *Whistle Binkie* school by characterising Miller's 'Wee Willie Winkie' as the poem which 'placed the Scottish vernacular tradition into a coma from which it would not wake until deep in the twentieth century'.[37] Yet the poetic tradition represented by Ford's collection cannot be lightly disregarded. Not only was it widely popular in the period, but it represents an important crossover between the fields of working-class literature and children's poetics, a crossover that does, as Victorian critics claim, seem to be unique to Scotland. Furthermore, the culture of Scottish nursery verse is certainly sentimental and conservative in relation to twentieth-century Scots verse for children, but in comparison to the vast majority of Victorian children's verse written in standard English, it is innovative, lively, linguistically playful and radical in its relative *lack* of sentimentality about the difficulties of parenthood and the behaviour of real, working-class children.

The best-known Scottish nursery poem of the Victorian period was, and remains, 'Wee Willie Winkie', the opening poem in *Songs from the Nursery*. Like most of the poems in this collection, it was published with a suggested popular tune, so that readers could choose either to read or sing

the lines. 'Wee Willie Winkie' was widely republished in newspaper poetry columns and periodicals, illustrated, sculpted, set to new tunes, and circulated in performance and in collections. It also provided the title for a Rudyard Kipling story (and collection) in 1888. It is difficult to overestimate how highly Miller's poem was regarded in his lifetime. Chambers singled it out for special praise, footnoting it in the 1842 edition of *Popular Rhymes* as an example of the nursery verse revival.[38] Thirty years later, critic and poet Robert Buchanan compared Miller's use of dialect to Burns and Robert Tannahill in an 1872 assessment, remarking that 'Every corner of the earth knows "Wee Willie Winkie"'.[39] In the version for young children which circulates in print anthologies today, 'Willie Winkie' has the status of a traditional nursery rhyme, and is usually reduced to the opening verse in standard English and uncredited to Miller. As is common in traditional nursery rhyme, the speaker is unidentified. In Miller's poem, however, the speaker is a tired mother who cannot get her son to sleep, and so threatens him with the bogeyman figure of 'Wee Willie Winkie' (a figure which may come from a Jacobite nickname for King William III); the poem is one of (and itself inspired) a number of similar comic and exasperated Scottish bogeyman poems about wakeful children, including Alexander Anderson's 'Jenny wi' the Airn Teeth' and James Nicholson's 'Jenny wi' the Lang Poke', both published in the popular *People's Friend* in the 1870s.

The third and fourth stanzas of Miller's original version run:

> Onything but sleep, you rogue!
> Glow'ring like the moon,
> Rattling in an airn jug
> Wi' an airn spoon,
> Rumblin', tumblin', round about,
> Crawing like a cock,
> Skirlin' like a kenna-what,
> Wauk'nin' sleeping folk.
>
> Hey, Willie Winkie,
> The wean's in a creel!

Wamblin' aff a bodie's knee
Like a verra eel,
Ruggin' at the cat's lug,
And ravelin' a' her thrums –
Hey, Willie Winkie –
See, there he comes!"[40]

Scots in this poem activates linguistic connections and echoes, like the rhyme of 'rug' and 'lug' and the relationship of both to the unspoken but felt 'tug', or the alliteration of 'ruggin' and 'ravelin', that are unavailable in anglicised translation. The figurative phrase 'in a creel' (in a state of confusion and madness), relates through its literal meanings – 'creel' as a basket for catching fish – to its rhyme-word, 'eel'. The version in Silsbee and in Whittier's anthology renders 'Ruggin' at the cat's lug, / And ravelin' a' her thrums' as 'Pulling at the cat's ear / While she drowsy hums'.[41] Besides losing the sound-effects, this loses another double meaning. 'Thrums' is a figurative term for a cat's purr ('three-threads-an-a-thrum', perhaps related to the sound of the loom) that is connected to 'thrums', as loose threads in weaving. So, to 'ravel' (to tangle, disorder or snarl) creates a pun only possible in the Scots. Stopping the cat's purrs is like snarling up a thread, with another play on the sense of 'ravel' as 'dishevel', thinking of the cat's ruffled fur. This is cleverly constructed and sophisticated linguistic play, which a Scots speaker would recognise as referencing terms familiar from nineteenth-century labour. As the opening poem in Robertson's collection, 'Wee Willie Winkie' thus seems designed to exemplify Francis Jeffrey's point, quoted in Robertson's preface, that 'the Scotch is, in reality, a highly poetical language'.[42]

In Miller's poem the unnamed toddler is mischievous, constantly in motion and upsetting to the order and peace of a domestic scene explicitly identified as lower-class, since the setting is a kitchen (with iron jug and spoon to hand) and contains a dog, cat and hen. It is also worth noting that the focus, in this poem and others, on the mother's relationship with her child, is a class marker, as of course is the parents' Scots speech. The parents in Scottish working-class nursery verse do not have nurses, nor indeed a

nursery as such. They are hard-working, inside and out of the home, and they recognise the trials as well as pleasures of parenthood: 'Wearied is the mither/ That has a stoorie wean' ('stoorie', from 'stour', battle or strife, is first attributed in adjectival use to Miller's poem), as the speaker in Miller's poem ruefully notes.[43] Importantly, the behaviour of young children in Scottish nursery verse is not generally stereotyped by gender or, rather, a point is made of writing poems in which young girls behave just as badly as young boys. James Smith's 'Wee Joukydaidles', first published in *The Scotsman* on Saturday 20 August 1864 and reprinted by other Scottish and English papers by Monday 22 August, set to music and in performance within three months of first publication and repeatedly anthologised, takes its cue from Miller but with a girl as its subject:

> Wee Joukydaidles,
> Toddlin' out an' in:
> Oh but she's a cuttie,
> Makin' sic a din!
> Aye sae fou' o' mischief,
> An' minds na what I say:
> My very heart gangs lowp, lowp,
> Fifty times a-day!
>
> Wee Joukydaidles,
> Paidlin' i' the shower –
> There she's at the wundy!
> Haud her, or she's owre!
> Noo she's slippit frae my sicht:
> Where's the wean at last?
> In the byre amang the kye,
> Sleepin' soun' an' fast![44]

The Dictionary of the Scots Language translates 'joukydaidles' as 'ducky-daddles', a pet name for a child, coming from 'jouk' for 'duck' and 'daidle' as a word for dandling or bouncing a child, though Smith's poem is the

only instance given.[45] 'Cuttie' is a specific, affectionate dialect term for a mischievous small girl. Running in the rain, climbing out of the window and eventually falling asleep in the cowshed: one of the other points that such poems make, through their depiction of lower-class children, is the comparative freedom that such children had to escape adult oversight, a freedom that is implicitly contrasted to the hard daily labour of their parents. Both 'Wee Willie Winkie' and 'Wee Joukydaidles' assure the reader, in the final lines, of the mother's love; in Smith, she hopes that she will live to, 'see my bonnie bairnie/A braw, braw lass!' (neatly assuring the reader that the child will be socialised into girlhood as she grows up) and in Miller, the tired mother concludes 'But a kiss frae aff his rosy lips/ Gies strength anew to me.' This is a sentimental turn, but because the poems have shown the parent's frustration and anxiety, and because the focus does not shift outside the mother-child relationship into a pious or didactic conclusion, it is effective as well as affecting.

The robust physicality of the children in Smith and Miller's poems is, moreover, crucial because it signals to the parent in the poem and the reader outside it that these children might live to adulthood. The rate of survival for children under 5 with parents working as 'operatives' across Britain was 44.6% in the mid-Victorian period.[46] Poems about child death are one of the key subgenres of Victorian popular poetics. We might compare Smith and Miller, for instance, to the poem Ford anthologises in *Ballads of Babyland* as having 'moved the lower working classes all over the country more than any other effusion in the same line that has issued from the pen of any English poet in the last fifty years', 'Little Jim' (by railway poet Edward 'Ned' Farmer):

> A little worn-out creature –
> His once bright eyes grown dim;
> It was a collier's only child –
> They call'd him Little Jim.[47]

The pious Little Jim, who, like most fictional English working-class children from Oliver Twist onwards, speaks in standard English, 'Mother, the

angels do so smile, / And beckon little Jim!'[48] serves to highlight just how innovative (and realist) Miller and Smith's child protagonists seemed by contrast to the accepted norms of their period. Miller, a Glasgow woodturner who suffered from ill-health and physical disability, and Smith, who worked in the Edinburgh printing trade and struggled to support his family, would have been very well aware of actual child mortality in the burgeoning Victorian cities, as well as the substantive focus on sentimentalised child death in Victorian poetics. And so would their readers, who encountered their poems in the newspaper press alongside obituary columns and frequent gruesome reports of accidents, injuries and deaths suffered by small children.

The second most popular poem in Robertson's *Songs for the Nursery* was James Ballantine's 'Castles in the Air', first published in Ballantine's anonymous humorous prose and verse miscellany *The Gaberlunzie's Wallet* (1843), under a different title, and featured in *Songs for the Nursery* in the following year. 'Castles in the Air' is significant because it rapidly moved out of the 'nursery' to become an integral part of the Victorian Scottish song tradition. With music composed by Robert Adams, 'Castles in the Air' had a wide circulation throughout Britain, North America and Australia. In 1859, for example, Andrew McIlwraith, a working-class emigrant to Ontario, noted in his diary that he 'Got Castles in the Air copied and dispatched to Miss Goldie' (his future wife).[49] E. Lawrence Abel's bibliography of sheet music produced in the Southern USA during the confederacy years lists five copies of Ballantine's poem, and a copy survives published in Melbourne around 1859.[50] Like 'Young Lochinvar' and 'Lord Ullin's Daughter', it was also sold as an anonymous cheap broadside by Scottish printers.[51] Ballantine's poem has less immediacy than either Miller or Smith's, as it uses the sight of a boy gazing into the fire as an impetus for reflection about adult life. This and its easier dialect made it ripe for appropriation for adult audiences. The final stanza runs:

> He'll glower at the fire!
> An' he'll keek at the licht!
> But mony sparkling stars

Are swallowed up by night;
Aulder een than his
Are glamoured by a glare
Hearts are broken, heads are turned,
Wi' castles in the air.[52]

The anglicised version in Silsbee changes 'glamoured' to 'dazzled', which both weakens the line by excising the alliteration, and removes the sense of 'glamour' as magic or enchantment.[53] Her excision of most of the Scots also lessens the political force of the speaker's hope that 'care', 'Will let the wean alone', since, of course, the class status of the young boy (as indicated by his linguistic community) is substantially likely to affect whether he suffers from cold and want or not. The poem is ambiguous in both celebrating the pleasures of childish imagination – like Stevenson's 'Armies in the Fire', a poem with a clear intertextual relationship to Ballantine – and in warning that fantasies can be dangerous, perhaps especially for a lower-class child whose aspirations are unlikely to be met.

Miller, Smith, and Ballantine's poems were integral parts of Victorian popular culture, at home and abroad, just as Scott and Campbell were. Yet the didactic aims represented in anthologising and performing these poems were very different. Scott and Campbell's poems are used by British Victorian anthologisers to emphasise the desirability of (masculine) bravery, chivalry, decisive action in the face of overwhelming odds, and a willingness to die rather than relinquish a goal. And as poems that represent 'poetry' for child readers, they suggest that a good poem has solid rhyme, rhythm and recurring structures that help to underpin its narrative drive. Miller, Smith, and Ballantine's poems, in contrast, while also marketed to and read by both Victorian children and adults, focus their didactic message on questions of parenting. While this might, of course, model a very different set of desirable behaviours to child readers – including caring, motherly behaviour – these poems arguably target their didactic message at adult readers. Scottish writer and critic John Brown, for instance, cited 'Willie Winkie' in its entirety as the ideal picture of a 'healthy and happy' child, in an 1861 article aimed

at lower-class mothers, 'Children, and How to Guide Them'.[54] No less than the Victorians' favourite Burns poem, 'The Cottar's Saturday Night', Scottish nursery poets construct an influential and positive fantasy of the Scottish working-class home and family in which children are highly valued, not least for their independence and imagination; parents take an active role in their upbringing, education and play; and family relationships are robust and loving. As I explore in more detail elsewhere, the ideologies behind this are more complicated, and in some ways more progressive, than they might seem, given the importance of ideologies of domesticity in Chartism and post-Chartist working-class radicalism.[55] In terms of what these poems tell us about poetry itself, their basis in nursery-rhyme and song-games (Smith's second most successful children's poem was 'Clap, clap, handies!', explicitly based on a clapping game) helps to value traditional popular verse, and to emphasise that poems for children are indistinguishable from song.

All five poems featured here are concerned with survival, and are implicitly engaged in attempts to preserve a culture perceived as distinctively Scottish – whether it consists of doomed lovers fleeing over misty storm-tossed lochs, or lower-class parents threatening children with an imaginary popular bogeyman – while simultaneously inventing it. All five also have shared connections to oral traditions associated with Scotland, and fraught relationships with 'native' forms of Scottish poetry, though they take these relationships in differing directions. Lang and Ford's 1890s anthologies are very far apart in aim and content, yet it is this shared concern that children and their carers and educators ought to be familiar with aspects of Scottish heritage that unites them. Both see something important at stake in championing Scottish poetry for and about children, as part of an ongoing, growing interest in national popular literatures, and in collecting, preserving, and transmitting folk traditions. As the Scottish Renaissance developed, despite its desire to disavow much of nineteenth-century literature, its authors tended to return to the urgent need to introduce 'national dialect in the nursery', an aim espoused, defiantly, by Robertson in his 1844 Preface to *Songs for the Nursery*.[56] When Soutar began to compose children's poems

for his influential *Seeds in the Wind* (1933), for example, he wrote to MacDiarmid that:

> If the Doric is to come back alive, it will come on a cock-horse […] I fancy the best beginning would be in bairn-rhymes of six or eight lines which contain no more than one or two uncommon words.[57]

This description, of course, already applied to many of the best-known examples of Scottish nursery verse from Robertson and Ford's collections. Soutar's work, and that of successors such as Norah and William Montgomerie, in *Sandy Candy, and Other Scottish Nursery Rhymes* (1948) and their later collections, or Sandy Thomas Ross in *Bairnsangs* (1955), is part of a continuum stretching from the 1820s to the present day. The enterprise of collecting and marketing Scottish poetry for and about children, to both child and adult audiences, as a crucial part of the construction of Scottish literary identity and the assertion of a distinctively Scottish children's literature, has its roots firmly in the Victorian period.

Notes

1 Andrew Lang (ed.), *The Blue Poetry Book* (London: Longmans, 1891) and Robert Ford (ed.), *Ballads of Bairnhood* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1894).
2 Lang, p. x.
3 Ford, 'Preface', p. 1.
4 Donelle Ruwe, *British Children's Poetry in the Romantic Era* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 12.
5 For instance, Alison Douglas' survey, *The Scottish Contribution to Children's Literature* (Glasgow: Library Review, 1966), is entirely focused on prose and fiction.
6 Catherine Robson notes that 'there are significantly different stories to be told about recitation in Scotland', in *Heartbeats: Everyday Life and the Memorized Poem* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 243. Her study is British in focus but primarily, though by no means exclusively, centred on examples from England.
7 Robert Crawford, 'Realms of Gold', *Victorian Poetry*, 32 (1999): 163–64; see also Crawford, 'Poetry, Memory and Nation', in B. Korte, R. Schneider and S. Lethbridge (eds), *Anthologies of British Poetry: Critical Perspectives from Literary and Cultural Studies* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 193–210, and Christopher Harvie, 'John Buchan and *The Northern Muse*: The Politics of an Anthology', in Korte, Schneider and Lethbridge (eds), pp. 211–22.
8 Morag Styles, *From the Garden to the Street*: *Three Hundred Years of Poetry for Children* (London: Cassell, 1988), p. 170.
9 Lang, p. vii.

10 Lang, pp. vii, x.
11 It is an interesting side-note that three of the five women poets featured in Palgrave's anthology were authors of Scottish song: Lady Nairn ('The Land o' the Leal'), Lady Lindsay ('Auld Robin Gray') and Jane Elliot ('The Flowers of the Forest'). It could be argued that Scottish song thus emerges as the most feminised sub-genre in the collection.
12 F. T. Palgrave (ed.), *The Children's Treasury of English Song: First Part* (London: James Nisbet, 1874).
13 Lang, p. 143.
14 Ibid., p. 143.
15 Basil Champneys, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*, 2 vols (London: George Bell), vol. I, p. 200; Coventry Patmore (ed), *The Children's Garland* (London: Macmillan, 1862).
16 E. V. Lucas, 'Some Notes on Poetry for Children', *Fortnightly Review,* 60 (1896): 391–407 (pp. 391, 392).
17 Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 82.
18 Lang, p. 45.
19 Ibid., p. 45.
20 Ibid., p. ix.
21 Robson, p. 30; Angela Sorby, *Schoolroom Poets: Childhood, Performance and the Place of American Poetry* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005).
22 Lang, p. 13.
23 Emily Tennyson, *Lady Tennyson's Journal*, ed. and intro by James O. Hoge (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), p. 39.
24 Ibid., p. 81.
25 Velma Bourgeois Richmond, *Chivalric Stories as Children's Literature: Edwardian Retellings in Words and Pictures* (Jefferson NC: McFarland, 2014).
26 See Robson, pp. 73–74. Julia Reid, 'Childhood and Psychology', in Penny Fielding (ed.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Robert Louis Stevenson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 41–52, offers a valuable discussion of these theories in relation to Stevenson's writings for children.
27 M. C. D. Silsbee (ed.), *Willie Winkie's Nursery Songs of Scotland* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1859), pp. 7–8.
28 Ford, p. 1.
29 Ford (ed.) *Ballads of Babyland, English and American* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1905).
30 Robert Chambers, *Popular Rhymes, Fireside Stories and Amusements of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1842), p. i.
31 'The Nursery and Popular Rhymes and Tales of England and Scotland', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine,* 10 (1843): 114–22 (pp. 115, 118).
32 'Songs for the Nursery', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine,* 11 (1844): 469.
33 'Child-Life as Seen by the Poets', *Saint Paul's Magazine*, 10 (1872): 480–91 (p. 489).
34 Suzanne Gilbert, 'Tradition and Scottish Romanticism', in Sarah Dunnigan and Suzanne Gilbert (eds), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Traditional Literatures* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 105–13 (p. 112).
35 'Recent Verse', *The Athenaeum,* 3481 (1894): 62–63 (p. 63).

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44 *The Scotsman*, 20 Aug 1864, p. 3, stanzas 1, 6. The British Newspaper database contains reprints of the poem in the *Birmingham Daily Post* and *Dundee Courier* on 22 August 1864. For its performance as a song, see the advert in the *Aberdeen Herald*, 28 December 1864, p. 1. Smith worked in the printing industry and was later offered the position of librarian at the Mechanics' Library in Edinburgh as a result of the success of his poems.
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51 Multiple copies of 'Castles in the Air' (13494 in the Roud Folksong and Broadside Index) as broadside are available in the Bodleian's Broadside Ballads Online: ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk (consulted 12 July 2016) and its wide circulation is also visible in the multiple references in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Catalogue: www.vwml.org (consulted 12 July 2016)
52 Robertson, p. 16.
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55 For a detailed discussion of Chartism and its focus on domestic life, see Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). For a further consideration of Scottish nursery verse, *Songs for the Nursery* and *Whistle-Binkie* in relation to nineteenth-century radicalism and reformist ideologies, see my forthcoming book, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland*, chapter 2.
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6. Gaelic Tradition and the Celtic Revival in Children's Literature in Scottish Gaelic and English

SÌM INNES AND KATE LOUISE MATHIS

This chapter discusses and contextualises a selection of literature composed for Scottish children during the latter part of the long nineteenth century, specifically the period of the Celtic Revival (c. 1880–c. 1920), which was composed in Gaelic, or else composed in English but based upon Gaelic heroic characters of the Finn (Fionn) and Ulster Cycles. The cycles, centred respectively upon the notable deeds of Fionn mac Cumhaill and Cù Chulainn, were known and circulated throughout the Gaelic-speaking regions of both Scotland and Ireland from at least the medieval period, and are represented by a significant collection of manuscripts composed and preserved upon either side of the Irish Sea (their heroes, within the tales themselves, travel just as freely back and forth). Both Fionn and Cù Chulainn, moreover, are said to have begun their remarkable careers in early childhood, and other children play similarly important roles within both Cycles; yet, it is not until the nineteenth century that examples of literature describing the feats of these children are repackaged overtly as literature for children. Lingering awareness of the so-called Ossianic Controversy, arising from the claims of James Macpherson (1736–1796) to have rediscovered three-thousand-year-old poetry composed by Fionn mac Cumhaill's son, Oisean ('Ossian'), may have been partly responsible for fostering this development, but factors underlying the galvanisation of the Celtic Revival itself, and central to the ideals of its devotees, were also significant. Examples of these factors particular to Scottish writers, expressed by their works for children, will be considered, as will the impact of increasing suppression of the Gaelic language within the Scottish education system after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, and its consequent decline among younger speakers. At the same time, writers whose own Gaelic was limited, but whose sympathy for Revivalist ideals of a reimagined Celtic past stimulated their interest in the deeds of its

traditional heroes, focused their attention upon presenting these deeds to a wider, English-speaking audience, via the medium (and resulting influence) of a limited collection of existing translations. Common to literature in both Gaelic and English, though more pronounced in the former, is the adoption of a didactic tone, hectoring its readers to pay heed to the apathy that has nurtured a climate of political injustice, and fostered the deterioration of their own language among younger generations of Gaels.

The first section of this chapter, by Innes, will focus upon literature for children composed in Gaelic, exploring two plays: *Dùsgadh na Féinne* ('The Awakening of the Fèinn'), published in 1908 by Catrìona NicGhille-Bhàin Ghrannd (Katherine Whyte Grant); and *Am Mosgladh Mòr* ('The Great Awakening'), by Calum MacPhàrlain (Malcolm MacFarlane), published seven years later.[1] Its second half, by Mathis, will discuss a number of late-nineteenth-century items based upon Gaelic sources for traditional characters' deeds, but composed in English, chiefly those by Eleanor Hull, William Sharp ('Fiona Macleod'), and Louise Charlotte Jack ('Louey Chisholm') – all of which acknowledge the influence of Alexander Carmichael's *Deirdire*, collected in the 1860s from the oral tradition of the island of Barra.

I. Literature in Gaelic: *Dùsgadh agus Mosgladh* ('Awakening and Rousing')

During the Celtic Revival in Scotland it was common for Scottish Gaels, and Scots more generally, to be portrayed as awakening, or on the verge of awakening; sometimes they were told it was high time for them to awaken. Lachlan Macbean (1853–1931) delivered a lecture to The Gaelic Society of Inverness in 1896 entitled 'The Mission of the Celt'. Macbean, raised in Kiltarlity, was the editor of *The Fifeshire Advertiser*. He was also a Gaelic writer and translator.[2] His lecture started with an historical overview of the Revival:

> The Gael suddenly awoke to the alarming fact that his native tongue, which more than anything else was the distinguishing mark of his tribe, was dying out before the tongue of the Southron. The thought

> touched his sensitive and melancholy nature as nothing else could. […] Having now glanced over this heaving tide of new Celtic life which has overflowed the fields of literature, music, customs, and social progress, it remains for us to ask, What of the future? The Gaels are awakening to consciousness, and as a man when he becomes conscious, first asks, What am I? Whence am I? What am I here for? So the Gael must ask, What are we? What are our capabilities? What is our destiny? […] Well, now, we have looked at these three currents of our times – the rising tide of Celtic revival among ourselves, the flow of Celtic sentiment and ideas in English life and literature, and the stream of Celtic blood into city life – and we should now be in a position to guess what is the mission and destiny of the Celt. It is surely by infusion of ideas and transfusion of blood to leaven modern civilization with its own awakening spirit.[3]

It was not just that the Gaels were asleep; they were in fact in a spellbound slumber:

> Until quite lately, we seem to have been a race under some evil enchantment. We were ashamed of our Gaelic, ashamed of being Highlanders […] but all this is changed; the spell is broken.[4]

The notion of a 'sleeping hero' who would awaken from an enchantment to lead the way was a powerful commonplace among Celtic Revival writers and artists. It arises from a motif and folklore tale-type that was, and is, ubiquitous in many countries (AT 766).[5] In Scotland, it was sometimes represented visually, as in 'The Awakening of Cuchullin' (1895), a mural painted by John Duncan (1866–1945) at Ramsay Lodge in Edinburgh.[6] It can also be detected in the words of Patrick Geddes (1854–1932), who spoke of characters such as Merlin awaiting their awakening, such that 'in some young soul here and there the spirit of the hero and the poet may awaken […] such is our Scottish and Celtic Renascence'.[7] In Wales, it was Arthur who was to rise again to improve the lot of Wales and the Welsh language.[8] In Ireland, the 'sleeping hero' tale was told about numerous historical

and fictional characters, and we can easily source its use at the time of the Revival.[9] For instance, in the first issue of the periodical *Ulad* in 1904, Joseph Campbell (1879–1944) published a short story described by the *Irish News* at the time as a 'propagandist parable':

> I dreamed a dream. Methought a voice spoke to me as from the clouds. It said, 'The time is upon us!' I looked around, fearfully, and beheld a haggard old woman before me.' […] 'The time for the heroes to ride forth,' she said. 'I wandered just now into that cave that pierces this hill at its foot. I saw there the heroes of the sons of Niall. Many think they are dead. They are not dead, I tell you. They are lying trance-bound, as in sleep. […] 'They are not ridden forth yet. I have not broken the ancient spell that binds them. They are biding the setting of the sun and the passing of the night. They will ride forth at the dawn. […] When I awoke again it was dawn. My face was to the rising sun. I arose joyfully, and gave the day-god salutation. […] Too long have they lain trance-bound and sleeping, but now they are stirred. The spell of enchantment is broken. They are gone forth, and till the Day of the Great Judgment they may not be recalled. They shout their ancient war-cry – 'Lámh Dearg ar uachtar!' – and ride out into the morning. May their road rise to them, and to all that follow! May victory sit on the banners of the Red Hand![10]

Among Scottish Gaels, the motif of the sleeping hero was most often associated with Fionn mac Cumhaill and his band of heroic warriors, known as *An Fhèinn* (appearing in English most commonly as the Fianna or the Fingalians). They were portrayed as sleeping in a cave, awaiting the call to rise up once more. The warriors of the Fèinn, extremely popular in written and oral Gaelic storytelling culture since the medieval period, were often understood to represent Highland Scots. As William T. Kilgour noted in 1908 of the sleeping Fèinn tale:

> Some treat [it] symbolically, and say that *an Fheinn air a h-uilinn* (the Feinne on their elbows) is representative of the Gael these many

> years past, and that some day, whether it be on the third blast of the trump or not is not indicated, but certainly some day, they will shew the world their full strength.[11]

The tale of the Fèinn asleep in a cave appears in print in Scotland at least as early as 1848.[12] It was collected from Gaelic tradition-bearers at the end of the nineteenth century, and appears in a number of folklore collections.[13] To those with a knowledge of the huge Irish and Scottish Gaelic tradition of the Fèinn, as we have it from the middle ages onwards, this tale is somewhat odd, since the deaths of the heroes, and the survival of Oisean as their last-surviving witness, are integral to the genre.[14] Notwithstanding the tale's slightly ambiguous relationship to the rest of the Finn-cycle, by the nineteenth century it appears to have become a part of that tradition in Highland Scotland. The sleeping Fèinn appear in Scottish and Irish children's literature in English during this period, for instance: Lady Augusta Gregory, *Gods and Fighting Men* (1904); Donald Alexander Mackenzie, *Finn and His Warrior Band* (1911); Violet Russell, *Heroes of the Dawn* (1914).[15] Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that two Gaelic plays for children, written by Gaelic activists at the beginning of the twentieth century, both employ the 'sleeping hero' motif: *Dùsgadh na Féinne* by Katherine Whyte Grant (1908), and Malcolm MacFarlane's *Am Mosgladh Mòr* (1914–15). Before we turn our attention to these two works, it may be useful to highlight why plays, and not prose tales, were favoured for Gaelic-speaking children at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Gaelic literacy had increased somewhat in Scotland, from the first half of the nineteenth century, as a result of schooling run by organisations such as the Edinburgh Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge.[16] These schools taught Gaelic reading skills to enable access to scripture in that language, but also saw it as a necessary evil on the road towards the teaching and acquisition of English.[17] A number of Gaelic primers, and more advanced readers, were published to meet the needs of these schools. For instance, in 1816 Gaelic primers for use in the Edinburgh Society circulating schools began to appear.[18] The

readers and primers published in the first half of the nineteenth century contained overwhelmingly religious content. The most ambitious school Gaelic readers from this period are those by the Rev. Dr Norman MacLeod (1783–1862), known as *Caraid nan Gàidheal* ('Friend of the Gaels').[19] The content of MacLeod's readers is also primarily religious, although there is a little secular material, including, somewhat remarkably given its audience, an essay, 'Long Mhòr nan Eilthireach' ('The Great Ship of the Exiles'), which promotes Highland emigration.[20] The creation of a Gaelic readership led to a concurrent increase in Gaelic-language publishing, which again mirrored the religious nature of many of the schools: seventy-five per cent of books published in Gaelic between 1800 and 1880 were religious.[21] Gaelic religious literature from the earlier part of this period, aimed at children, would include the Rev. Duncan Grant's *Dleasdanas na Cloinne bhi 'g iarruidh agus a' gràdhachadh Chrìosd* (1829), a translation of his English-language publication, *The Duty of Children to Love and Seek Christ* (1822).[22]

The establishment, however, of universal mandatory primary education, and creation of school boards, under the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, effectively brought an end to the use of Gaelic in schooling in Scotland for a number of generations.[23] Michael Newton observes that, after 1872, schools normalised 'Anglophone literature before the Gaelic equivalents had the chance to mature. The shortage of an audience literate in Gaelic dampened demand and hence the economy of scale in Gaelic publishing.'[24] After 1872, organisations such as the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and later An Comunn Gàidhealach ('The Highland Association'), were campaigning, with limited success, to have Gaelic-speaking children be taught to read in Gaelic.[25] A series of short biographies written in the 1920s, on teachers who had been sympathetic to the Gaelic cause, noted that, at the turn of the century, 'Gaelic teaching was carried on under considerable difficulty: suitable text-books were not available, and "Caraid nan Gàidheal" provided most of the reading matter'.[26] During this late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century campaign phase, concurrent with the Celtic Revival more generally, non-religious Gaelic literature for children very slowly began to appear. For instance, Malcolm MacFarlane (1853–1931), who wrote the play to be discussed below, produced secular Gaelic readers such as *An Treòraiche* ('The Leader') (1903)

and *An Comh-Threòraiche* ('The Co-Leader') (1911).[27] MacFarlane, a 'measurer and land surveyor', born at Dalavich on Loch Awe and brought up in Paisley, was extremely active in Gaelic promotion.[28] Rather than the scriptural content of the earlier readers, MacFarlane included practice passages on non-religious topics such as poetry:

> Ach mo bheannachd air na bàird, agus barrachd cumhachd dhaibh. Mura b' e dìlseachd nam bàrd cha bu bheò an diugh ar cànain aosda féin – a' Ghàidhlig bhinn, bhlasda, cànain seann rìghrean, maithean is mithean nan Gaidheal.
>
> [*But my blessing on the poets, and more power to them. If it weren't for the fidelity of the poets our ancient language would not be alive today – sweet, delicious Gaelic, the language of the old kings, nobles and common folk of the Gael.*][29]

It is unsurprising, therefore, given the uneven history of teaching Gaelic-speaking children to read their own language, that the first ambitious, imaginative Gaelic-language works specifically for children were plays rather than prose.[30] A Gaelic play could be performed by children who could speak but not read the language with ease, presumably a reality for the majority at the turn of the century. Indeed, we have evidence of this exact situation – English being the language of schooling in a strongly Gaelic-speaking area, but with use of Gaelic plays as a rare concession – from Ealasaid Chaimbeul/ Elizabeth Campbell's autobiography *Air Mo Chuairt* ('On My Way') (1982). Campbell, born in the Isle of Barra in 1913, details how difficult the absence of Gaelic at school was for children like her who spoke no English, but notes also that, at the upper end of primary school in the 1920s, when she would have been about eleven, they performed a Gaelic play:

> A-nis, anns an sgoil, thòisich sinn air gnothach ùr ionnsachadh – dealbh-chluich a dheilbh Dòmhnall Mac na Ceàrdaich […] 'S e Ruaidhreachan an t-ainm a bh' oirre. Bha faoileag, feannag,

> clacharan, bean-shìth, leanabh-sìth agus bodach-sìth innte. 'S e am maighstir-sgoile am bodach-sìth, 's e a' cluich na fidhle, agus mise Faoileag Bhàn Loch Grèine. Chòrd an gnothach fìor mhath ris an fheadhainn mhòr a thàinig dhan sgoil ga choimhead an oidhche a shealladh an toiseach e air an stage. […] Thuit na glainneachan agam gu doirbh nuair a thuirt cailleach sa bhaile againn fhìn rium, "Rud gun dòigh – cò riamh a chuala cainnt aig faoileig neo aig feannaig neo clacharan?" Shaoil mi riamh gu robh i laghach chun an latha ud.
>
> [*Now, at school, we began to study a new subject – a play composed by Donald Sinclair. It was called Ruaireachan. The characters included a seagull, a crow, a stonechat, a fairy woman, a fairy child and a fairy old man. The schoolmaster took the role of the fairy old man, and he played the fiddle, and I was Faoileag Bhàn Loch Grèine ('The Fair Seagull of Loch Grèine'). The large number who came to the school to see it on the night that it was first put on stage enjoyed it immensely. I was brought back down to earth with a thud when an old lady from our own village said to me, "Nonsense – Who ever heard a seagull or crow or stonechat speak?" I'd always thought she was nice until that day.*][31]

Thus, Gaelic children's literature as we have it from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is very much a reflection of the treatment of the language in education. In that context, and in advance of a more in-depth study of Gaelic children's literature, we might surmise that, post-1872, Gaelic plays for children appear before other forms of imaginative prose for children as a direct result of the removal of the language from the education system. For those teachers who were inclined to use Gaelic at all as part of schooling, a play could be used with children who might otherwise have struggled to read in Gaelic for pleasure. Grant and MacFarlane hoped to inspire an awakening of love and devotion to Gaelic in children whose education was otherwise largely ignoring it.

Katherine Whyte Grant, Dùsgadh na Féinne *(1908)*

> Tha feum air na Fianntan; tha an dùthaich 'na frìth;
> Tha Ghàidhlig dol bàs; cha'n eil daoine 'san tìr;
> Nach 'eil Gaidheal an Albainn, no Gaidheal an céin
> a shéideas an dùdach 's a dhùisgeas an Fhéinn?
>
> [*The Fèinn are needed; the country is a deer forest; / Gaelic is dying; there are no people in the land; / Isn't there a Gael in Scotland or a Gael abroad / who will blow the horn and awaken the Fèinn?*][32]

Grant (1845–1928) was brought up in Appin but was resident in Sydney, Australia when she wrote the play. Innes's recent study of her play and its context has shown that the tale of the Fèinn warriors 'on their elbows', waiting to be awoken, is at the heart of her 'kinderspiel'.[33] The play contains a number of powerful messages for the audience on the decline of Gaelic in the Highlands, and on the impact of estate-owner policy on the population; it opines that an awakening is badly needed. The tale of the sleeping Fèinn appears in the play as follows:

> Dòmhnull – Nuair thig an t-àm, thig duine dhùisgeas iad. Bha, aon uair, gobhainn ann, d' am b' aithne 'n t-àite 's am bheil an Fhéinn 'nan laidhe. Rinn e iuchair a dh' fhosgail dha a' chreag. Ghabh e stigh is chunnaic e na suinn an sin 'nan suain; gach fear 'na éideadh-airm, le sgiath 's le chlaidheamh. Bha cuid dhiubh le cruit-chiùil a' bhàird r' an cliathaich. Dlùth air na suinn, bha dùdach mhór 'na laidhe. Esan aig am biodh anail treun gu leòir, 's gu leòir de mhisneach aige, an fheadag mhòr a chur r' a bhilean, agus, tri uairean thairis, séideadh thoirt dith gu làidir, coimhlionta, chuireadh a ghairm na gaisgich air am bonnaibh, is thigeadh iad a mach gu cathachadh an aghaidh nàmhaidean Albann mar o shean. Thog an gobhainn an dùdach r' a bhilean is shéid e i. Lìonadh le fuaim an uaimh, is thug na Fianntan plaosgadh air an sùilean. An dara uair shéid e cho fad 's a bh' aige.

> Dh' éirich na suinn, le clisgeadh, air an uilinn. Le clisgeadh thilg an gobhainn uaith an fheadag; ghabh e na casan ás a dh' ionnsuidh 'n doruis, am feadh a ghlaodh na Fianntan le guth aimheil: "Is miosa dh' fhág na fhuair." Dhruideadh an dorus cloiche as déigh a' ghobhainn is thilg an gealtair air a chùl an iuchair; is riamh o'n latha sin cha 'n fhios do dhuine cò ì a' chreag 'sam bheil an Fhéinn 'na cadal. Dé 'm fios nach ann 'sa chreig ud thall a tha iad!
>
> [*Donald – When the time comes, someone will awaken them. Once upon a time there was a blacksmith who knew where the Fèinn lay. He made himself a key that opened the rock for him. He went in and saw the heroes in a slumber; each in his armour, with a shield and sword. Some of them had a lyre at their side. Near to them lay a large horn. He who would have enough strong breath and enough courage to put the great whistle to his lips and blow perfectly and strongly three times would call the heroes to their feet, and they would come out to fight the enemy of Scotland as in olden times. The blacksmith put the horn to his lips and blew it. The cave was filled with noise, and the Fèinn opened their eyes. The second time he blew as hard as he could. The warriors rose up, all of a sudden, onto their elbows. With a start the blacksmith threw the horn down; he hightailed it out of the door while the Fèinn cried with grief, "You've left us worse than you found us." The stone door closed after the blacksmith and the coward threw the key behind him; ever since that day no one knows in which rock the Fèinn sleep. They could even be in that rock over there!*][34]

The play ends with the child characters promising to awaken the Fèinn by not forsaking the Gaelic language, and its associated culture, for the promise of wealth (associated with English).[35] This tension between language and economic advancement is also to the fore in MacFarlane's work.

Malcolm MacFarlane, Am Mosgladh Mòr *(1914–15)*

MacFarlane, using the pen-name *Caraid na Cloinne* ('Friend of the Children'), published the first part of *Am Mosgladh Mòr* in *The Celtic Monthly* in the

summer of 1914. A 'Word from the Editor' (Annie M. MacKay?) of the periodical accompanied it. This explained that the play deals with a queen in an enchanted sleep and not the Fèinn, although their magical cauldron appears:

> There is a Children's Gaelic Musical Play in existence, called "Dusgadh na Feinne" – "The Awakening of the Fians." It is by Mrs K. W. G. and is a creditable production of its kind. But it has failed to catch on. Two facts are against its rising in favour; it is a reproduction of real children's play, and it has rather much literary flavour about the words. Children love better to imitate grown people in their amusements and to affect the accomplishment of achievements. The following play differs from the other in respect of the words and music being both original and belonging equally to the plot. No attempt has been made after literary excellence. To have done so would have been a mistake. The plot is allegorical and propagandist. It is called "The Great Awakening", and shadows forth the denouement of the Gaelic movements, as hoped for by the enthusiast. A usurping Queen of The Rough Island has put the rightful Queen and her court under spells, and she and they lie in a cave which was once a palace, until, according to a certain prophecy, dwarfs return to the island and become the instruments for breaking those spells. The dwarfs land, meet the usurping Queen, overcome her guard, and expel her. They send a party throughout the island to discover the disenchantress who is fated to dissolve the spells under which the native Queen lies. They bring in seven alleged disenchantresses, and after a process of weeding out the false ones and burning their remedies in a cauldron – a bh' aig an Fhéinn mar thùisear: that the Fians had as an incense burner – the proper one is discovered. The leader of the dwarfs, by the use of cabalistic signs and words, opens the cave, the disenchantress does her work, the native Queen is restored to life along with her whole court, and, after a Grand "Salute", the dwarfs depart to the accompaniment of a "Farewell."[36]

It is noteworthy that this editorial found fault with *Dùsgadh na Féinne*, since MacFarlane himself had helped Grant to prepare it.[37] Furthermore, the claim that the language register in MacFarlane's work is somehow easier, or not as literary, is not quite the whole truth. Indeed, it is arguable that, in fact, the opposite is the case, and that of the two, *Dùsgadh na Féinne* is in more child-friendly language.

On publication of the second part of the play an introduction was added, noting that schoolchildren in two Highland areas were already working with it. It can be difficult to access evidence for the reception and performance of Gaelic children's plays from this period. Therefore, this introduction to the second part of *Am Mosgladh Mòr* is particularly useful, as it adds to the evidence presented by Ealasaid Chaimbeul for actual use of Gaelic plays in some Highland schools:

> The Play called "Am Mosgladh Mòr", which appeared in the July, August and September issues of last year, was produced last winter by the children of Bunavulin School, Morvern, under the guidance and training of their teacher, Miss Harriet Stewart. It was taken up with great spirit by the children, and gave intense satisfaction to the audience of local people and strangers who came to hear it. We are glad to learn that Miss Juliet MacDonald, Cul-a'-bhaile, Fort William, is training children to produce it in that town. It is a desirable novelty, and should be encouraged by everybody who has the interests of Gaelic at heart. The author has now produced a continuation of the first part, and we have pleasure in giving an instalment in this issue. The Bunavulin children have already started to practice the songs.[38]

This also gives us an insight into the central role played by women in encouraging Gaelic plays and other such pursuits among children, as the scholarship of Priscilla Scott has recently shown.[39] The 'redoubtable Harriet Stewart' (1866–1947) was from Clackmannan, but 'learned Gaelic from scratch in Morvern and made sure that all her pupils had a thorough

grounding in the language. Out of her own pocket she took her pupils to provincial and national mods, where her tiny school featured prominently in the prize lists'.[40] Juliet MacDonald (1848–1942) spoke Gaelic as her first language, and represented Lochaber on the Executive of An Comunn Gàidhealach.[41]

Am Mosgladh Mòr was reduced in its second edition, having won second prize at the Mòd in Greenock in 1925. In this excerpt from the beginning of the play (the longer 1914 text) we see how the premise was set up, and we also see how thinly veiled the metaphor is for the interaction between English and Gaelic:

> Dìcheall Dearbhag (Banoglach) – Is mairg cinneadh a tha fo mheachainn maithean a dhìobair an dualchas. Oir is dìobradh dualchais dìobradh uaisle. B' èibhinn an t-àm 'san robh sluagh an Eilein Ghairbh fo cheannas maithean a bha dìleas do'n chrùn agus a dh'altruim beusan is beachdan an sinnsir. Ach, Och mo chreach! Thàinig Sagsa Mòruaill agus a ban-gheasadair, Sannta Nòir, agus chuir iad draoidheachd orra a thàlaidh iad bho am bànrighinn dhlighich féin gu ùmhlachd a dheanamh dhithse. Ghiùlain iad a h-airm; chog iad fo a brataich; is shìolaidh iad as gu mòr. Ghabh Sannta Nòir fàth air ar Bànrighnn [sic], agus chuir si fo gheasaibh i.
>
> [*Dìcheall Dearbhag (Maidservant) – Woe to the race who are ruled by the will of nobles who have forsaken their heritage. Since to forsake heritage is to forsake nobility. Delightful was the time when the people of Eilean Garbh ('Rugged Island') were led by nobles who were loyal to the crown and maintained the ways and ideas of their forefathers. But, oh my! Sagsa Mòruaill ('Saxa GreatPride') and her sorceress Sannta Nòir ('Greed ForGold') arrived and put them under a spell that tempted them away from their own rightful queen to pay homage to her. They bore arms for her, fighting under her flag; and they were greatly reduced. Sannta Nòir ambushed our queen, and placed a spell on her.*][42]

The two Gaelic children's plays discussed here, *Dùsgadh na Féinne* and *Am Mosgladh Mòr*, bear witness to the efforts of two Gaelic writers to raise the consciousness of Highland children to the weakening of Gaelic and the straitened economic circumstances endured by the Highlands during the Celtic Revival period. They also represent something of a fightback against the denial of the language in education in Scotland, by providing sympathetic Highland teachers with published materials. The weakening of the Gaelic language was an ongoing issue in many regions of the Highlands due to the dire economic situation for the population therein, and with music and entertainment on stage these two writers hoped that children would hear the message. In both cases, the rejection of Gaelic for material gain related to acquisition of English is presented as the problem, ignoring, of course, the complexity of the reality facing the Highland population following a century of famine, clearance, and emigration. Nonetheless, the plays exhorted young Gaels to awaken from the greedy slumber of English and to fight the cause of Gaelic and its culture. It might, of course, give pause for thought to remember that neither Grant nor MacFarlane themselves were resident in the Highlands, as a result of economic out-migration, when they produced these children's plays encouraging the rejection of luxury and material gain in order to preserve Gaelic. The motif of the sleeping hero was popular among Celtic Revivalists in those years, and could be easily adapted for Gaelic children's literature. Grant made use of a Gaelic folktale related to Fionn and his Fèinn. MacFarlane's play with its 'allegorical and propagandist' plot has a more complex relationship to earlier Gaelic tradition and is worthy of further study.

II. Literature in English: Ulster's heroes told to the children

The component tales of the Ulster and Finn Cycles[43] of medieval Gaelic literature are filled with the deeds of precocious children destined for greatness in their adult lives, with a specific category of stories, 'macgnímrada' or 'macgnímartha' ('*boyhood deeds*'), devoted to the youthful exploits of Fionn mac Cumhaill[44] and Cù Chulainn, the 'Hound of Ulster'.[45] The latter tales, in which the five-year-old child defeats two-thirds of the older, 150-strong 'maccrad' ('*boy-troop*') that surrounds the fortress of Emain

Macha (court of his uncle, Conchobor, king of Ulster); wrestles and mutilates – aged six – a ferocious guard-dog (whose former protection of the province of Ulster he is then bound to emulate); and beheads – aged seven – three brothers who claimed formerly to have 'killed more of the Ulstermen than are left alive',[46] occur within the wider framework of the longest of the Ulster-Cycle stories, the c. ninth-century *Táin Bó Cúailnge* ('The Cattle-Raid of Cooley').[47] It is clear, however, that, despite the extreme youth of their protagonist, there is nothing inherently naïve or childish in Cù Chulainn's behaviour, and the stories themselves are not related to other children, but to the warriors of neighbouring Connacht – poised to assault Ulster's border and steal its prized brown bull, Donn Cúailnge – in order to heighten their fear of the now fully grown man whom they must shortly face in battle.[48]

In fact, the extent to which such stories, prior to the Celtic Revival (c. 1880–c. 1930), would ever have been directed towards an audience as youthful as Cù Chulainn himself remains unclear. We know little of the circumstances of their contemporary performance within the oral traditions of medieval Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. Their earliest written copies occur firmly within the highly professional, adult environment of the scholars who created and compiled, during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, the 'Great Books' of Gaelic literature such as *Lebor Laignech* ('Book of Leinster'), *Lebor na hUidre* ('Book of the Dun Cow'), and *Lebor Buidhe Leacain* ('Yellow Book of Lecan').[49] During the Celtic Revival, however, a clear interest in the suitability of these characters for (re)presentation as child-oriented heroes and heroines becomes apparent, in the pages of beautifully illustrated compendia of 'myth and legend' as much, most dramatically, as in the classrooms of St Enda's School, Dublin, founded by Patrick Pearse (1879–1916) as a 'Boy Republic' inspired by the 'maccrad' of Emain itself.[50] Such endeavours were not, however, conducted in isolation, but as part of a widespread Revival movement – encompassing Ireland as well as Scotland – whose aims included, as we have seen, the awakening of Gaels from their long-term political apathy, the promotion of the Gaelic languages, and deepening awareness for those denied formal education in the latter of the inspirational deeds of hitherto-neglected literary ancestors. The majority of Scottish

authors producing stories inspired by older Gaelic literature – many of which were not composed in Gaelic, since their authors rarely spoke it[51] – were part of a network of Revivalist writers active on both sides of the Irish Sea, most of whom were acquainted with each other and often taking inspiration from the same existing translations of medieval Gaelic tales. Paisley-born William Sharp (1855–1905), for example, corresponded extensively with W. B. Yeats (1865–1939) and Lady Augusta Gregory (1852–1932), as, in fact, did Sharp's alter-ego, 'Fiona Macleod'. Works by luminaries of the Gaelic League, like Douglas Hyde (1860–1949) and Standish James O'Grady (1846–1928), were published in Scottish periodicals, notably 'Scoto-Celtic outburst'[52] *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal*, established in Edinburgh in 1895 by author, publisher, biologist, and philanthropic visionary Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) as a fundamental part of his 'campaign for a Scottish cultural renaissance'.[53] Ella Young's (1867–1956) *Celtic Wonder Tales* (1910), illustrated by Maud Gonne (1866–1953), inspired a number of works by Scottish Symbolist artist John Duncan (1866–1945).[54] In an English-language context, rather than Gaelic, it is sometimes harder to distinguish the intended audience of published items (particularly, as we shall see, those of Scottish derivation), or to discern the extent of their reception. Many, moreover, were published in London, rather than Dublin or Edinburgh. Their subjects, too – Fionn mac Cumhaill, Cù Chulainn, heroes of the 'Red Branch' like the Sons of Uisliu, Fergus, and Deirdre – may be described, often within the same narrative, as operating between the landscapes of both Scotland and Ireland, and equally at home in either (a factor apparent in medieval sources as well as contemporary).

Similar ambiguity may extend to whether or not a particular Revival-era text was intended for children, or whether, in fact, the bowdlerisation of episodes from particular authors' sources arises rather from late-Victorian squeamishness anent levels of bloodshed or sexual misconduct deemed newly inappropriate for all. Some authors strove primarily for completeness, or slightly pedantic precision, in assembling what were often judged dismissively as scattered, poorly-cared-for 'fragments' of older literature – painting themselves, in the process, as its saviours,[55] but providing little clarity *vis-à-vis* intended readership. Charles Squire, whose preface to *The Mythology of the*

British Islands: An Introduction to Celtic Myth, Legend, Poetry and Romance (1905) identifies only 'the English reader' as his target audience, complains at greater length that earlier translations:

> Cover a portion only of the whole ground, [and], in addition, contain little elucidatory matter. [Their heroes'] characters stand alone and unexplained; and the details that would explain them must be sought for with considerable trouble in the lectures and essays of scholars to learned societies.[56]

Eleanor Hull's *Cuchullin Saga* (1898) styled itself with similar authority as 'a collection of stories relating to the hero Cuchillin [sic], translated from the Irish by various scholars', with an introductory essay emphasising the 'literary qualities of the saga', claimed of comparable worth to the 'Epics of the Nibelungen, of Charlemagne, or of Arthur'.[57] Hull (1860–1935), however – born in England of Irish extraction and a founding member of the Irish Texts Society in 1899 – produced another version of Cù Chulainn's life retold explicitly for children, which differed significantly from her earlier work.[58] Her preface to *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster* (1909), advises that, this time, it 'does not aim at being a text-book, but a book written for the pleasure of the young', with which she has taken greater liberties than before, 'introduc[ing] new details which add to the beauty and striking effect of [the tales'] most touching episode[s]'.[59] The volume was retitled for its American edition, with the same foreword, as *The Boys' Cuchulain: Heroic Legends of Ireland*.[60] Little material alteration, however, despite her alleged shift in audience, was made to the tales' basic content between each one, though Hull did excise from *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster* the most overtly sensual moment of the boy's adolescence – when the women of Conchobor's court are sent to cool the ardour of his first 'riastrad' ('*battle-frenzy*') by exposing their breasts – retaining only the 'three [successive] baths of cold water' into which, stunned with embarrassment, he may then be plunged.[61]

This second collection, however, included the story of Deirdre and the Sons of Uisliu – Yeats' renowned 'Deirdre of the Sorrows'[62] – whose presentation during the Revival is already more complex than Cù Chulainn's,[63]

and is complicated further still when the question of her suitability for juvenile readers is addressed, or alluded to indirectly, by a small collection of contemporary sources that depict her. The rest of this chapter will explore her depiction by Hull, by Lady Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (1902) – both of which were published in London by Irish writers, but set primarily in Scotland – by Fiona Macleod's *The Laughter of Peterkin* (1897), and *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna* (1903), and by Edinburgh-based Louey Chisholm's 'Star-Eyed Deirdre' in her *Celtic Tales Told to the Children* (1910). Each of these depictions – whose intended readership is not always clear – share at least one common source, namely Lismore-born, Edinburgh-based Alexander Carmichael's *Deirdire*, obtained in its original Scottish Gaelic from the recitation of John Macneill, an eighty-three-year-old cottar from the island of Barra, published in Gaelic, then in English translation by Carmichael, in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* in 1888–89.[64] Attention will be paid to each of these authors' attitudes towards their respective Deirdres, their audience (if known), and their decisions concerning the more potentially problematic episodes of her life in the sources on which each one depends.

The oldest Deirdre: Longes mac n-Uislenn *('The exile of Uisliu's sons')*

Her popularity among Revivalist writers as Gaeldom's most famous beauty, the tragic heroine of the greatest of its romances ('the Helen of the Gael'),[65] is already at odds with the multifaceted narrative of Deirdre's depiction within a wide variety of older sources, spanning Ireland and Gaelic Scotland alike, ranging in date from the ninth to the early eighteenth centuries. The oldest of these depictions, *Longes mac n-Uislenn* ('The exile of Uisliu's sons'), recorded in *Lebor Laignech* (c. 1160), is also set at the court of Conchobor, Ulster's king.[66] It describes a disastrous series of events emanating from his decision, against his warriors' advice, to preserve the life of a new-born girl prophesied to bring only death and destruction upon the province, should she be allowed to survive. Like Cù Chulainn, she is also precocious, uttering a terrible scream from her still-pregnant mother's womb, which first alerts the court to her potentially malign effect upon their company (her name in its oldest form, *Derdrethar* or *Deirdriu*, means 'disruption', or 'one who

resounds/causes resonance').[67] The arrogance of Conchobor's conviction that his interference will assuage this threat is motivated chiefly by lust, since her tremendous beauty is also foretold, and the girl is confined to a secluded 'lios' ('*secure enclosure*'), so that no other man might be tempted by her presence until she has reached a suitable age to be brought to the king, when 'she will be[come] the woman ('*ben*') who will be in my company'.[68] When a trouble-making female poet, Leborcham, flouts Conchobor's authority and introduces the nearly-grown girl to Noísiu, Ainnle, and Ardán – the three Sons of Uisliu – she compels the brothers, by invoking a 'geasa' ('*tabu*') against them,[69] to remove her from the king's jurisdiction, and accompanies their 'fían' ('*warrior-band*') from Ulster into Scotland. A briefly peaceful interlude is shattered when the exiles are betrayed by their former ally, Fergus mac Róich (himself misled by Conchobor's assurance that he means only to welcome the brothers home), and return to Ireland to meet their immediate deaths. Deirdre, forced at last to submit to the king's desire but refusing to speak to him, grieves a full year for the Sons of Uisliu instead, killing herself accidentally while attempting to escape the king a second time.

The basic narrative of *Longes mac n-Uislenn* developed gradually, with often differing emphasis placed upon the characters' roles within each later version, several of which are explicitly Scottish. A tale of at least some similarity was known in Scotland from an early stage: a fifteenth-century manuscript sets the exiles' bucolic refuge firmly in Argyll,[70] while another suggests that Deirdre gave birth to two children, Gaiar and Aebgréine, who survived their parents' deaths and were fostered safely by the lord of Emain Abhlach (Arran, 'island of the apple trees').[71] Overall, however, the exiles' lives remain short and innately violent, with variations on the brothers' demise including freezing to death in the waves of an enchanted flood, burning alive, and simultaneous beheading with a very long sword, with the manner of Deirdre's prolonged process of grief including drinking blood from their wounds *post-mortem* and throwing herself in the same grave.[72] By the beginning of the nineteenth century, partly in consequence of the so-called Ossianic Controversy (see below), Deirdre's name had become, in Scotland primarily, an exemplar for great love, inevitable tragedy, and overwhelming grief.[73]

It is unsurprising, therefore, that Revival-era writers on both sides of the Irish Sea also found in Deirdre and the Sons of Uisliu characters whose proven flexibility could represent a wide variety of sentiments relevant to their own creative endeavours, from youth blighted by authoritarian repression, the pain of exile from one's native land, and, ultimately, the devastating impact of thwarted idealism and lost hope.[74] Each of these elements may be discerned within the work of Scottish and Irish writers, in nearly thirty plays, novellas, and epic poems composed upon the general theme of Deirdre's short life between c. 1880 and the 1920s ('Fiona Macleod' exclaimed approvingly that 'the name of Deirdre has been as a lamp to a thousand poets').[75] The tragedy of her own experience was often heightened further still by its combination with two other 'oidheadha' ('*violent death tales*') of later-medieval origin, following the example set by Eugene O'Curry's convenient rendition of the so-called *Trí Thruaige na Scélaigheachta* ('Three sorrows of storytelling') into English, in 1862–63.[76] The majority of these Deirdres were not presented exclusively to one or other audience, but almost every item varies significantly from its authors' acknowledged inspiration, and most, whatever their intended readership, may be seen to have imposed what Murray Pittock has described as the 'three pillars' – 'symbols, perfection, and death'[77] – of late-Victorian Neo-Jacobitism, alongside a high-minded, often moralising tone anent episodes of particular disturbance in their characters' lives. As noted above, some were also addressed explicitly – untoward as this may seem – towards juvenile readers, with each of the latter expressing their debt to Carmichael's *Deirdire* (not, itself, of obvious dedication either way).

Lady Gregory, Cuchulain of Muirthemne *(1902), and Eleanor Hull,* Cuchulain, Hound of Ulster *(1909)*

Lady Gregory's Deirdre-tale in her *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*[78] – more than half of which is set in Scotland – does not define itself explicitly as 'Children's Literature', but was certainly envisaged as being of value to younger readers.[79] It was influenced, too, at least in part, by the hope of recreating the atmosphere of her own childhood nurse's simplified versions of Ulster-Cycle tales.[80] An obvious departure from *Longes mac n-Uislenn* is

Gregory's regularisation of the poorly defined and unorthodox liaisons between Conchobor, Deirdre, and the three Sons of Usna. Her Conchobor intends, explicitly, to make the girl his wife, a role linked firmly to her provision of the best possible level of care for king and court alike: Deirdre's hesitation in accepting his proposal of marriage is framed as reluctance that 'she was young yet, and had no knowledge of the duties of a wife, or the ways of a king's house'. Securing his agreement to a year's postponement of their wedding, the king engages the services of 'a woman teacher' to instruct her, and 'nice, fine, pleasant, [and] modest maidens to be with her at her lying down and her rising up, to be companions to her'.[81] The presence of Leborcham during Deirdre's childhood, far from the lurking threat she exudes in *Longes mac n-Uislenn* – her access to the 'lios' cannot be denied, for fear of her satires upon the king's misconduct[82] – is also his own choice, as the nurse-maid requested to supervise the comfort of her secluded home, and the knowledge she imparts to the girl is explicitly benign ('there was not a blade of grass growing from root, or a bird singing in the wood, or a star shining from heaven, but [that] Deirdre had the name of it').[83] As a woman she is chastised, even by Naoise [*sic*], for speaking immodestly: an attempt to convey her misgivings regarding the sincerity of Conchobor's offer to return to Ulster is met with the request that she restrict herself, in future, to the 'kind, gentle words' with which she swiftly attempts to placate his annoyance.[84] In her lament for their deaths, Deirdre refers to Conchobor as 'the High King of Ulster, my first betrothed, [whom] I forsook for love of Naoise'.[85] It is surprising, therefore, that amidst her restrained and highly civilised environment Lady Gregory does not also omit Deirdre's presence from the brothers' death-scene – they are beheaded simultaneously with a sword which 'leaves nothing after it, [neither] track nor trace' of the wound[86] – though she is careful to note that her contact with Naoise's corpse thereafter is both accidental, and subject to the direst of consequence:

> [She] gave three kisses to him, and when her mouth touched his blood the colour of burning sods came into her cheeks, and she rose up like one that had lost her wits, and she went on through the night till she came to where the waves were breaking on the strand.[87]

Instead of leaping from a moving chariot, so that her skull is shattered to fragments,[88] she stabs herself discreetly on the beach with a stolen knife, then 'drew it out again and threw it in the sea to her right hand, the way [that] no one else would be blamed for her death'.[89]

Lady Gregory's sources are revealed, by her diaries, as 'a bundle of "Irische Texte"' [90] donated by Douglas Hyde,[91] and Carmichael's *Deirdire*, from which she has borrowed both the year-long deferral of Deirdre's wedding to the king, and her insistence that she receive adequate training for the role of wife (his 'modest maidens', in particular, are imported verbatim to *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*).[92] The almost bloodless nature of the brothers' deaths is also borrowed,[93] as is Carmichael's presentation of Deirdre, even during the onslaught of the magical flood, as the epitome of a demure, well-mannered young lady. Carmichael's English translation is littered with alterations to his informant John Macneill's original Gaelic,[94] one of the most telling of which occurs when the brothers attempt to protect her from the effects of the surging waves. Macneill's statement that Naoise 'set Deirdire on his shoulders with a leg on either side of his neck' becomes in the printed translation: 'Naoise placed [her] on the summit of his shoulders'[95] – with the English version implying, as Alan Bruford observed, that she 'sits side-saddle rather than astride' him, and removing the possibility of 'offend[ing] Victorian sensibilities by mentioning a lady's legs'.[96]

Carmichael's version was similarly influential to Eleanor Hull's Deirdre-tale in her explicitly child-friendly *Cuchulain, Hound of Ulster* (a.k.a. *The Boys' Cuchulain*).[97] She replicates, for example, the gentler, bloodless nature of the brothers' demise, as well as Carmichael's insistence that Deirdre's feminine decorum be strictly maintained:

> A grey stormy sea [arose] before the Sons of Usna on the green plain. The three heroes tied their clothing behind their heads, and Naisi [sic] set Deirdre upon his shoulder and went straight on without flinching, without turning back, through the grey shaggy sea, lifting Deirdre on high *lest she should wet her feet*. 'Thy spell is good', said Conor [sic], 'yet it sufficeth not […].' Then the Druids froze the grey uneven sea into jagged hard lumps of rugged ice, like the sharpness

> of swords on one side of them and like the stinging of serpents on the other side. Then Arden cried out that he was becoming exhausted and must fain give up. 'Come thou, Arden, and rest against my shoulder', said Naisi, 'and I will support you'. Arden did so, but it was not long before he died; but though he was dead, Naisi held him up still. Then Ainle cried out that he could go no longer, for his strength had left him. When Naisi heard that, he heaved a heavy sigh as of one dying of fatigue, but he told Ainle to hold onto him, and he would bring him soon to land. But not long after, the weakness of death came upon Ainle, and his hold relaxed. Naisi looked on either hand and when he saw that his two brothers were dead, he cared not whether he himself should live or die. He heaved a sigh, sore as the sigh of the dying, and his heart broke and he fell dead.[98]

Hull's rendition of the tale is divided into five discrete episodes, each with its own title, parts three ('The Sleep-Wanderer'), four ('The Wiles of King Conor'), and five ('The Sorrowful death of Usna's Sons') of which provide further support for her dependence upon Carmichael.[99] She complains explicitly, moreover, of the unsuitability for her present audience – children – of many features of 'the oldest version [of my tale], found in the Book of Leinster [*Longes mac n-Uislenn*]', which is 'much ruder and more barbaric' than the rest,[100] and rejects similarly distasteful aspersions made, conversely, by one of its latest-known copies[101] (i.e. that Deirdre's liaison with Conchobor was consummated, repeatedly, prior to her departure for Scotland with the Sons of Uisliu).[102] Even one of the most famous, though certainly macabre, episodes of *Longes mac n-Uislenn* has been excluded in part from Hull's tale, and she comments somewhat meta-textually upon the unlikelihood of the oldest version's accuracy, for a girl of her own heroine's clear refinement. *Longes mac n-Uislenn* reads:

> Once upon a time, moreover, the maiden's foster-father was skinning a weaned calf on snow outside in the winter, to cook it for her [meal]. She saw a raven drinking the blood on the snow. Then she said to Leborcham: 'Beloved would be the one man on whom might

> be yonder three colours, that is hair like the raven, a cheek like blood, and a body like snow'. 'Dignity and good fortune to you!' said Leborcham, 'he is not far from you. He is inside [the lios] near to you, even Noísiu son of Uisliu'. 'I will not be well, indeed', she said, 'until I see him'.[103]

Hull opines, however – and uniquely – that her Deirdre has no need of such sinister visions, since she and Naisi are depicted as childhood friends, when they used to play catch with a golden ball. The sweetness of this memory, a comfort to her present isolation in the secluded 'lios', has been spoiled by the recent arrival of the king, whose presence has intruded itself upon the innocence of their former connection:

> But [now] when he flings the ball for me to catch, 'tis ever the same thing. King Conor comes between and seizes it, and throws it back at Naisi. So can I never catch and hold it in my hands, and I am vexed and weep. But last night, O good nurse, King Conor flung the ball craftily at his head, and Naisi fell all red and stained with blood, *like that poor calf that Caffa slew, thinking that I could eat it for my food. The tender little calf that played with me!* Upon the winter's frosty floor I saw its blood, all crimson-red upon the driven snow, and as I looked I saw a raven that stooped down to sip the blood; and, O dear nurse, I thought of Naisi then, for all his hair, as I remember it, was dark and glossy like the raven's wing, and in his cheeks the ruddy glow of health and beauty, like the blood, and white his skin like snow. Dear nurse, dear nurse, let me see Naisi once again, and send the King away.[104]

Hull's other, most overt departure from almost every earlier version is the softening of the typically extreme tension that attends the moment of Deirdre's pre-natal shriek, when the assembled Ulstermen leap up from their feast and seize their weapons in horrified alarm, and when the ghastly revelation by Conchobor's adviser, Cathbad, of the suffering and copious bloodshed she is fated to cause inspires even her own father, Feidlimid, to

insist upon her death.[105] Hull, instead, removes the motif of the 'unquiet womb', having Cathbad make his prophecy for curiosity's sake, to 'find out her destiny' when word of her birth is brought to the feast.[106] Though her death is still suggested as a practical response, the threat itself is expressed with none of the vivid language used elsewhere ('not to her parents will this child bring ill, but to the province, and to Ulster's kings and chiefs').[107] Uniquely, the child is brought to the hall to be judged directly by the king, and charms him in the style of any normal infant:

> The babe came all swathed in white and lying, soft and fair, within her nurse's arms. And when the infant saw the lights and heard the sounds of singing, she was pleased, and puckered up her baby face and looked up at the King and crowed and smiled. The King was moved to gentleness; he rose up from his seat and took the babe out of her nurse's arms and loudly he proclaimed before them all: 'The prophecies and omens of the seers I do most strictly honour and believe […] yet will I not believe that any good can come of an ignoble act. No man or hero of a noble mind for his own good would slay a helpless babe, [so] neither then for the good of Ulster shall this foul, cowardly deed be done.[108]

The marriage he proposes then, and the girl's upbringing 'in my own way', are framed solely as an additional means of protecting the kingdom; throughout her childhood, Deirdre refers to the king as 'Father'.

Fiona Macleod, The Laughter of Peterkin: A Retelling of Old Tales of the Celtic Wonderworld *(1897), and Louey Chisholm,* Celtic Tales Told to the Children *(1910)*

One other Carmichael-inspired Scottish tale of Deirdre and the three Sons of Uisliu is addressed explicitly to a juvenile audience.[109] Commissioned in the spring of 1897, destined for the Christmas market,[110] Fiona Macleod's 'Darthool and the Sons of Usna' is placed beside versions of the two other 'Sorrows of Storytelling', 'The four white swans',[111] and 'The fate of the Sons of Turenn'.[112] A frame-tale, 'The laughter of Peterkin', is given in preface,

personifying the tales' ideal reader as a child enchanted by 'many tales of old times', of which these particular three were his favourites, since 'he found [there] pre-eminently the haunting charm and sad exquisite beauty which are the colour and fragrance of the Celtic genius'.[113] 'Peterkin' is depicted by Fiona as a generic child intrigued by such older tales ('he stands, indeed, for many children rather than for one, for many lives and not an individual merely')[114] whose tastes are yet subject to change. A certain distance from the days of his youth is implied already by Fiona's omniscient narrative voice – and a distinction made, perhaps, between the most suitable audience for the 'Three Sorrows' – as Peterkin 'is [now] a man', who has 'turned with *deeper emotion* to tales such as "Dermid and Grainne", or "The Amadan Mor" ["Great Fool"]', and yet still 'of those early favourites he loved to think, loved to re-read, to hear again, [and] to re-tell. That is why, therefore, I have chosen to make this book.'[115] The distinction between appropriate age-groups is alluded to once again by the manner of Peterkin's very earliest acquaintance with the substance of the 'Three Sorrows', since they were not at first revealed to him directly but overheard, when his parents' friend, Ian Mor ['Big John'],[116] was telling them to his wife – only later, 'when he was old enough to follow aright, Ian Mor told him, anew and in his own way, the three famous tales which follow'.[117] Each of Fiona's versions of the 'Three Sorrows' is framed by the narrative of Ian Mor, speaking to Peterkin, who is provided also with a brief, educational history of Deirdre's presentation elsewhere:

> The story I will tell you now, Peterkin, is more beautiful, though not so old [as those of Lir's and Turenn's children]. In all the regions of the Gael throughout Scotland, and in every isle, from Arran and Islay in the south, to Iona in the west, and Tiree in mid-sea, and the Outer Hebrides, there is no story of the old far-off days so well known as that of Darthool. She it is who in Ireland is called Deirthrê or Deirdrê; and in Ireland [also] to this day there is not a cowherd who has not heard of Deirdrê. Her beauty filled the old world of the Gael with a sweet, wonderful, and abiding rumour. The name of Darthool has been as a lamp to a thousand poets. In a land of heroes and brave

> and beautiful women, how shall one name survive? Yet to this day and for ever, men will remember her, the torch of men's thoughts.[118]

Fiona's chosen name for her heroine, 'Darthool', and her substitution of 'Nathos' for Noísiu or Naisi, implies an unacknowledged debt to James Macpherson's Ossianic poem *Dar-thula*, published alongside his *Fingal, an ancient epic poem in six books* (1765) and credited, notoriously, to Ossian, son of Fionn mac Cumhaill.[119] Its brief history of Deirdre herself aside, however, the defining characteristic of Ian Mor's / Fiona's preface is its emphasis upon the tale's enduring beauty, and its insistence that the child Peterkin must also serve this irresistible cause, in order to inhabit the tale and its characters' lives most fully:

> For beauty is the most excellent sweet thing in all the world, and though of it a few perish, and a myriad die from knowing nothing of it, beneath it the nations of men move forward as their one imperishable star. Therefore he who adds to the beauty of the world is of the sons of God. He who destroys or debases beauty is of the darkness, and shall have darkness for his reward. The day will come, Peterkin, when you will find a rare and haunting music in these names. They will bring you a lost music, a lost world, and imperishable beauty. You will dwell with them, till you love Darthool as did the sons of Usna, and would die for her, or live to see her starry eyes […]. I will tell you the story as it is told in the old chronicles, and if I add aught to it, that shall only be what I myself heard when I was young, and had from the lips of an old woman, Barabal Mac-Aodh, who was my nurse. She came out of Tiree or Coll, I forget which.[120]

Despite its preface, however, and its unusually overt emphasis upon appealing to childish minds, 'Darthool and the Sons of Usna' adheres far more strictly to Fiona's designated sources for the older Deirdre-tale than one might expect. The latter are named as Alexander Cameron's 'The tale of Deirdre', his English-language translation of an eighteenth-century Gaelic version (i.e. Adv. Lib. 72.2.6), in *Reliquiae Celticae* (1894), and Douglas Hyde's

poetical rendition in his *Three Sorrows of Story-telling* (1895),[121] but it is clear from William's introduction to the centenary edition of Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* (1896) that he and Carmichael corresponded,[122] and Fiona's debt to *Deirdire* is as clear as Hull's in *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster*, and Gregory's in *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, especially in the manner of her death-scene (see below). Nonetheless, there is little of Carmichael's emphasis upon modesty or maidenly good conduct within 'Darthool', and despite the often-cloying note of florid sentimentality introduced throughout, Fiona's text remains littered with the kind of lurid detail of which Hull's rendition, for example, has been stripped almost completely. The foretelling of Deirdre's terrible impact upon Ulster is depicted graphically by Fiona's prophet:

> Behold the vision of Cathbad the Druid, who is old and nigh unto death. And what is before mine eyes is a sea, a sea of flowing crimson, a sea of blood. Foaming it rises, and wells forth, and overflows, and drowns great straths and valleys, and laves the flanks of high hills, and from the summits of mountains pours down upon the lands of the Gael in a thundering flood, blood-red to the blood-red sea.[123]

Deirdre's father, Felim, continues to insist upon his own daughter's death ('It would be better to slay the child than to drown the land in blood'),[124] and though something of Hull's Deirdre's aversion to the calf's death is also present here, Fiona's rendition of the girl's vision retains the vivid colours of its oldest telling in *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, and concludes with an oddly sensual hint that Deirdre herself, on the cusp of adolescence, has grasped already the implications of Noísiu's imminent appearance in her life:

> One dawn the first snows came over the hills of the north and fell upon the forest. […] For joy Darthool clapped her hands, as she stood upon the wall of the lios. Then, glancing downward, she beheld the woman who was her attendant standing beside a calf that had been slain for the provisioning of those within the fort. The red blood streamed over the snow, and was as the crimson cloak of an Ultonian

> chief there, till the red grew mottled as it sank through the frozen whiteness. Darthool's eyes *ever saddened at the sight of blood*, but after a brief while she knew that there was no harm in that shedding, and that no omen of further bloodspilling lay therein. While she was still looking thereon, a great raven, glossy black and burnished in the sun rays, came gliding swift across the snow, and alit by the slain calf, and drank of the warm bright blood. *Of a sudden Darthool laughed low*.[125]

The scene's significance for Fiona is also implied by the fact that it is the only one for which an illustration is provided. Drawn by Yorkshire-born artist Sunderland Rollinson (1872–1950), the black-and-white sketch is subtitled 'A great raven, glossy, black, and burnished in the sun's rays'; it depicts the slaughtered calf in the central foreground, a pool of blood emerging from its mouth, while Deirdre observes it calmly. Further thinly veiled sensuality attends her actual meeting with Nathos. Catching his first glimpse of the girl:

> Love rose suddenly within him like a flame: a red flame was it that was in his heart, and a white flame in his mind, and out of these two flames is wrought the love of love and the passion of passion and the dream of dreams.[126]

He declares:

> Thou hast not seen the sea: but there, when the tide flows, there is nothing, there is no one, in all the world, which can say it nay. So is my love for thee, that now rises; and, once thine, will be thine evermore.[127]

Following their declaration of mutual love, the girl, uninvited:

> Moved forward and put her honeysweet lips against the mouth of Nathos, and made his blood leap, and a flame come into his eyes,

> and a trembling come into his limbs. Then, as though with that kiss she had become as a wild rose, she stood swaying lightly, her fair face delicately aflame. Nathos put his arms about her, and kissed her on the brow and on the lips.[128]

Agreeing to remove her from the enclosure, and from the king's jurisdiction, Nathos and Darthool embark upon a two-day journey through the wilderness to reach the safety of his brothers' castle. Lying down together, 'for the last hour of the dark they rested a brief while, lying close-hid among the bracken', where they fall asleep;[129] in the morning:

> Came the first sun rays rippling, dancing, leaping, from amid the crested heights and peaks to the eastward, and Nathos awoke. For some moments he lay breathless with wonder. Darthool, in all her radiant beauty, was by his side, her golden hair ablaze in the sunlight, and her face like a flower amid the bracken. It was too great a wonder [but, fearing discovery should they linger] he put his dream away from him, and stooped and kissed Darthool upon the lips. With a cry she awoke and put her arms about him.[130]

None of these scenes, nor the lush subtlety of their phrasing, are borrowed from any of Fiona's sources, most especially Carmichael. Douglas Hyde's description of his Deirdre's prophesied beauty:

> I see two shining stars – they are her eyes.
> I see a web of silk – it is her hair,
> I see a trunk of ivory – her neck,
> A double shower of white pearls – her teeth[131]

has clearly inspired Fiona's, but hers is overlain, once again, with a darkly suggestive tone:

> Two stars I see shining in a web of dusk … the shining stars are her eyes, and the web of dusk is the flower-fragrant maze of her hair,

> that low tower of ivory is her fair, white, wonderful neck, and her white teeth are these pearls, and *that strange crimson fruit* is no other than her smiling mouth – a little smiling mouth with life and death upon it because of its laughter and grave stillness.[132]

All of Deirdre's other visions, premonitions of the blood-soaked outcome of the brothers' misplaced trust in the king's forgiveness, are also retained by Fiona, reproduced from Cameron's translation of 'The Tale of Deirdre', via the medium of Douglas Hyde's poem.[133] The third of these visions ('Listen [Nathos], I pray thee: I see thine own shadow creeping up thee, and a dark cloud overhead, and a cloud of clotted blood it is by the same token')[134] is followed swiftly by the brothers' actual deaths, achieved here too via simultaneous beheading.[135] Deirdre's behaviour thereafter is a far cry from both the single kiss bestowed upon the bloodless, frozen corpse of Naisi by Eleanor Hull,[136] and Lady Gregory's reproving hint of caution against unwise, unwomanly behaviour (as above).[137] Fiona's rendition is faithful initially to 'The tale of Deirdre' (i.e. Adv. Lib. 72.2.6), uniting Deirdre momentarily with Cù Chulainn himself, making a brief, regrettably tardy cameo appearance in the exiles' death-tale. Fearing imminent recapture by the king, she turns her back upon the brothers' headless, crumpled corpses, but then declares:

> 'I do not wish to live, but I wish to live yet a brief hour, and not to be taken in shameful life before the eyes of Concobar [*sic*]'. So [she and Cù Chulainn] returned to where the dead lay. Darthool fell upon her knees, and spread out the glory of her hair, and put her lips to the blood-wet lips of Nathos. [After lamenting them] Darthool stooped, and lifted the head of Nathos, and cleaned it of blood and foam, and the sweats of death, and kissed the eyes and the lips, and put her love upon the dear face, and her sorrow upon it, and her grief upon it, and put it to her white breast, and to her lips again, and gave it again her grief and her love. Then at the bidding of Cuchulain [*sic*] three graves were digged. In each grave a son of Usna was placed, and as each stood there his head was placed upon his

> shoulders. But the grave of Nathos was made wider. Darthool stood therein and held his hands in hers, and put her lips often to his lips, and often whispered to him. One other death there was in that hour, and in that place.[138]

The often bleak, bloody, and understatedly suggestive tone of 'Darthool and the Sons of Usna' vindicates Ian Mor's decision to present it to Peterkin at an appropriate moment of his childhood. It is interesting to note, however, that 'Fiona Macleod' herself expressed marked dissatisfaction with the book – specifically its frame-tale format, and consequent disharmony between prologue and main course – soon after publication. Writing to an American correspondent on May 3, 1898, she urged him to approach a number of new publishers on her behalf, in hopes of getting leave to reconstruct it:

> If chance should take you to Boston I wish you would ask Mr. Lamson (Lamson Wolffe & Co.) or Copeland & Day or Houghton Mifflin & Co. if they would care to issue an American edition – either as it stands or without the Peterkin prologue and interludes – and in the latter case (*which for some reasons I should prefer*) under the title 'The Three Sorrows of Old', or 'Heroic Tales of the Celt', or 'The Story of Deirdre the Beautiful'.[139]

Another letter to Portland-based publisher Thomas B. Mosher confirms this:

> And now one more suggestion for your consideration – in connection with the only other book of mine that has [still] not been reprinted in America. This book, in any reissue, I should call 'Old Tales Retold' or else 'Heroic Tales of the Gael'. The book was published as a Christmas book under the title 'The Laughter of Peterkin' – *a hopeless misnomer, and with much superfluous setting*. The gist of the book consists of the three favourite Gaelic heroic tales, retold by me: the famous tale of Deirdre and the Sons of Usna – the Tale of the Heroical Quest of the Sons of Turenn – and the Tale of the

> Swan-Children of Lir: the first and last, in particular, in their Gaelic originals, having been loved by every generation of Irish and Scottish Gaeldom for over a thousand years. I have often wished to see these 'Heroic Tales,' in my retelling, issued properly, that is by themselves and *severed from their superfluous and worse than useless 'setting' and misleading and absurd title*.[140]

That it was her version of Deirdre's tale to which she was most attached is also confirmed by Fiona's suggestion, in the same letter, that the '"Helen of Troy" of Gaelic Legend' was especially deserving of independent publication if Mosher deemed the 'Three-Sorrow' version too long ('my retelling – I think the fullest, and most authentic – has been accepted by many good judges as the best [of the three]. It was certainly a labor [sic] of love, and *one of my few personal writings which I can reread without dissatisfaction*').[141]

When Mosher's stand-alone edition of *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, a limited print-run of 925 copies, appeared at last in 1903, it contained a nearly identical text of 'Darthool' from *The Laughter of Peterkin*, with only the heroine's name exchanged[142] and its title replaced. The frame-tale structure, however, was omitted entirely, and the prefatory presence of Ian Mor and 'generic child', Peterkin, exchanged for an essay dedicated to one particular child, 'Esther Mona', the real-life daughter of William Sharp's friend (and 'mother' to Fiona Macleod), Edith Wingate Rinder (1864–1962).[143] Though much of Ian Mor's scene-setting content is actually retained (e.g. Deirdre's status as 'lamp to a thousand poets'),[144] the essay itself is re-addressed to Esther, styled as a young girl firmly on the path to womanhood. Moreover, the earlier suggestion that certain older tales are not appropriate for all age-groups, but should be encountered gradually, is reinforced, though with a note of distinctly feminine sweetness and romance added. Esther, addressed as 'little girl' and 'little one', is advised that:

> *When you grow to maidhood and womanhood*, it is a hope of mine that you will love these old legendary tales […] Before you read *this* time-sweet story of great love you will come to the story of Fionnula and her brothers, because the Tale of the Children of Lir, or the Tale

> of the Four Swans as it is sometimes called, is first among the beautiful old stories *for the delight of those standing in or passing beyond childhood*.[145]

Where Peterkin had been urged to dedicate himself (a boy-child) to an almost knightly devotion to 'Darthool' ('till you love [her] as did the sons of Usna, and would die for her, or live to see her starry eyes'),[146] Esther's contribution to preserving the tale, lest it ever be forgotten, is anticipated via her undoubted future role as a mother:

> Shall the day come when the tale of Deirdre shall be no more told? If so, it is not merely beautiful children of Legend we shall lose, not [its] lovely raiment, but the very beauty and love themselves, the love of beauty [and] the love of love […] So, little one, *come in time to love these things of beauty*. Lay your child's heart that is made of morning joy and evening longing to that mother-heart [of Beauty]: and when you gather years, [and] *when your time is come, and you in turn pass on the mystery of life to another who will look up from your breast with eyes of wonder and slowly shaping thought*, forget not to tell that other to lay its child's heart of morning joy and evening longing against a more ancient and dream-filled heart than that of any woman, that mother-heart of which I speak to you, the Heart of Beauty.[147]

It is clear, however, that Esther's birth (in 1901), provided a merely convenient opportunity for emphasising a motif – the theme of motherhood, and its particular relation to Deirdre – that was already present within the *Peterkin* text of 'Darthool' in 1897, and is dwelled upon there at far greater length than by *Longes mac n-Uislenn* itself, or by any of Fiona's sources (like Carmichael, Hyde, or Cameron's translation of 'The Tale of Deirdre').[148] Despite the importance of Deirdre's pre-natal shriek from her mother's womb to the opening episode of *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, her birth itself is not described, nor her mother's own fate in its wake. The presence of her father, Conchobor's poet Feidlimid (Fiona's 'Felim'), is confined to the

moment he insists that his wife explain the cause of the 'violent noise' that has erupted from her body, disturbing their feast.[149] Neither parent is mentioned again. Deirdre's only guardians during her time in the 'lios' are an unnamed couple who prepare her food, and Leborcham, who cannot be excluded.[150] Fiona, however, even in *Peterkin*, dwells at length upon Deirdre's parentage, her removal from her birth-mother's care, and the substitutes who influence her girlhood. Her mother,[151] Felim's wife, is given a name – Elva – and Fiona introduces her perspective several times into the narrative. The pain of Elva's potential loss, as well as Felim's, is referred to by Conchobor as a compelling reason to reject his court's demands for their child to be killed to appease the prophecy.[152] Her relief at her daughter's reprieve is observed, and Fiona's Conchobor permits her to accompany the child to his court, and to remain a short while together:

> The child was spared, and that night Elva slept in peace, and for many nights. When the days of feasting were over, Concobar [*sic*] left the home of Felim, and returned with all his company to Emania. With him he took the little child Deirdre, and Elva came with him for a month and a day. The month and the day soon passed, and then Elva went back to her own place. It was the will of the high king and of Felim, her husband; nevertheless, she sorrowed to part with her little child, who, even as a breast-babe, had eyes of so great a beauty that it was a joy to look into them.[153]

An initially unnamed 'nursing woman' takes Deirdre to the 'lios' soon after. She is then, however, identified uniquely by Fiona as the sister of Leborcham, whose overwhelmingly sinister presence in *Longes mac n-Uislenn* is replaced by Fiona's assertion that she is the king's 'own foster-child and under *geas* or bond to him [and] held by Concobar to be discreet and trustworthy beyond any other of his own people'.[154] Deirdre's education is shaped solely by women (the sisters, one assumes, of Carmichael's 'modest maidens', defined at much greater length). Fiona has obvious sympathy, too, for the seclusion of Deirdre's youth, and though this section of her tale betrays the influence of Hyde's *Three Sorrows* as well as *Deirdire*, the kind of company

whose absence she most regrets is specified clearly (as, thus, is Fiona's particular concern). Hyde's version of Deirdre's speech, addressed to the character of the swineherd who has stumbled upon her enclosure, runs:

> [I miss] the sound of friendly voices, [and] converse sweet
> With other lives and manners than [my] own.[155]

Fiona's Deirdre regrets, instead:

> [having] converse with [my] *own kind*, and [being] kept away from *all the joys of youth*, and to pass from year to year and be exiled [here], *to hear no young voices, no young laughter*.[156]

Her development of these themes – maternity, parental attachment, the absence of youthful companions – may have been read as a suitable shift in focus for a tale designed, ostensibly, for children, were it not for the fact that Fiona's version, as we have seen, is otherwise remarkable for its failure to omit the vast majority of 'adult' themes excised by Hull, or occluded by Carmichael's *Deirdire* (even despite the latter's much less specific audience). Their presence would appear, instead, to have derived from personal significance. William Sharp's biographer, Flavia Alaya, suggests that the childlessness of his marriage to Elizabeth began to exercise visible influence upon Fiona's work in 1896 – the year before *Peterkin* was written – with the publication of her poem 'The Unborn Child'.[157] An interest, however, in children and childhood more generally is apparent from the earliest collection of William's own poetry, *The Human Inheritance* (1882), which contains a sequence described by Alaya as 'Peterkin without the visions'.[158] It would appear, in fact, as if the preference given to 'Peterkin' for 'these three tales' in particular – the respective 'Sorrows' of Deirdre, the children of Lir, and the children of Turenn – belonged to William/Fiona first, due perhaps to the opportunities they provided for presenting a child's perspective upon their youthful surroundings, and contrasting this innocence with their transition from charmed youth to disenchanted, often tragic adolescence. That Fiona considered her Deirdre as the most successful of the three (as

above), may suggest that she was especially pleased with these particular additions to her sources' original narrative, none of which are found at such length or with such significance in any other Revival-era version.[159]

They are absent, too, from the final version of a contemporary Deirdre explicitly 'retold to the children', composed by Louise Charlotte Jack (1862–1948), despite her acknowledgement of debt to *The Laughter of Peterkin* directly (as well as, once again, to Carmichael's *Deirdire*).[160] Under the pseudonym 'Louey Chisholm', Jack, wife to an Edinburgh-based publisher, was the author of a series of books designed for 'very little children', whose standard practice was the 'shortening and simplification' of stories selected from a wide range of older European literature.[161] Her chapter, 'Star-Eyed Deirdre', in *Celtic Tales Told to the Children* (1910) is accompanied, like Fiona's, by versions of 'The Children of Lir', and 'The Children of Turenn', with illustrations throughout by 'Glasgow-Girl' Katherine Cameron (1874–1965).[162] Though not without its moments of lurking peril – most of which, in fact, are expressed far more succinctly and effectively than Fiona's[163] – Chisholm maintains a far stricter focus upon the youth of her anticipated audience, and exercises greater caution in reshaping a number of episodes that *Peterkin* had embellished. The 'sea of flowing crimson' prophesied to engulf the kingdom if Deirdre should live is replaced with a gentler foreboding, combined with Fiona's longer description of her tremendous but ill-fated beauty:

> This night, O Felim the Harper, shall a girl-babe be born to thee within these castle walls. Loveliest among the lovely shall thy star-eyed daughter be; no harp-strings shall yield such music as her voice, no fairy strains pour forth such wonder-stirring sound. Yet, O Felim, in days to come, because of this fair child shall great sorrow come upon our King Concobar and upon all his realm.[164]

There is no cross-country excursion, alfresco sleepover or breathless wakening-up, or anything other than chaste affection exchanged between Deirdre and the brothers. Chisholm also removes Fiona's claim that, once the waters of the enchanted flood recede, Deirdre leaps from Naoise's

shoulders and attempts to kill the warrior selected to wield his sword against the brothers (being thrown to the ground for her trouble).[165] Her death-scene dwells only briefly upon the basic action of the sword, not the bloody disorder of its impact, and the attention lavished by Deirdre upon Naoise's head, by Fiona, is replaced in Chisholm's conclusion by the restrained formality of a single kiss farewell:

> With that [the brothers] laid their heads upon the block. A flash of the steel, and Alba was bereft of the fairest and noblest of her sons. And the air was rent with cries of lamentation. Then did a great champion [Cù Chulainn] stride across the plain, and to him did Deirdre tell of the fate of the sons of Usna. And under his care the star-eyed maiden came to where the heroes lay dead. And Deirdre kneeled, and she bent low over the head of Nathos, and kissed his dead lips. Then, at the bidding of the champion, three graves were digged, and in them, standing upright, were buried Nathos and Ailne and Ardan, and upon the shoulders of each was his head placed. And as Deirdre gazed into the grave of Nathos, she moaned a lay which told of the brave deeds of the sons of Usna. It told, too, of her love for Nathos, and as she ended the mournful strain, her heartstrings broke, and she fell at the feet of her husband, and there did she die, and by his side was she buried.[166]

Despite this restraint, however, Chisholm has also rejected the opportunity to address her readers – as Fiona does both 'Peterkin' and Esther – in a voice of grown-up experience. Her preface, in fact, excludes any such possibility firmly:

> One of my friends tells me that you, little reader, will not like these old, old tales; another says they are too sad for you, and yet another asks *what these stories are meant to teach* […]. It is true they are sad, but you do not always want to be amused. *And I have not told the stories for the sake of anything they may teach*, but because of their sheer beauty. I expect you to enjoy them as hundreds and hundreds

> of Irish and Scottish children have already enjoyed them – without knowing or wondering why.[167]

It conveys, nonetheless, a briefly similar reminder to Fiona's preface(s) of both the tale's ultimate age and the presumed extent of its appeal in time and place (although, as discussed above, its assumption of long-ago childish listeners to tales about Deirdre, or any of Ulster's heroes, is probably misplaced). 'Star-Eyed Deirdre' itself, akin to Chisholm's aims for her *Told to the Children* series more generally, is the simplest and least conflicted in its content and presentation of any of the Revival-era Deirdres explored by this chapter. Moreover, though it is not the only retelling directed specifically towards children, it is the only one that refrains from employing an overtly narratorial voice (such as Hull's meta-textual contention that Deirdre was reluctant to eat the slaughtered calf), and which does not seek to exhort, subtly or otherwise, moral discernment or modest behaviour among its readers. Both Hull's depiction of Deirdre in *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster*, and Gregory's in *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, emphasise her ladylike demeanour and self-expressed ambition to be trained by other 'modest maidens' as the king's ideal wife (retentions from Carmichael's *Deirdire* that may, since neither Hull nor Gregory are otherwise faithful to it consistently, be assumed as deliberate).[168] Fiona Macleod's near-identical renditions, in *The Laughter of Peterkin* and *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, project gendered models of readership upon the 'ideal' children to which each one's preface is addressed, but her unusual emphasis upon maternity is present before the opportunity for re-dedication to Esther Mona – perhaps coincidentally a real child too – happens to arise. This second, rephrased introduction to the tale enables refinement of an existing theme and reinforcement of its private relevance for William Sharp and his alter-ego alike, reinforcing too Fiona's unique consideration that Deirdre's tale is not most suitable for 'very little' readers, but only for those who have 'passed beyond' the earliest years of childhood.[169] It also makes explicit a perceived connection between the rituals of motherhood – nursing one's child at the breast, and telling it tales – advocated as an opportunity for Esther herself to preserve and pass on this particular tale of 'lost world[s],

and imperishable beauty',[170] lest it be otherwise forgotten.[171] Despite, however, this common emphasis upon preservation of something both ancient and supposedly endangered, neither example of Fiona's didacticism – nor its fainter echo in Hull's and Gregory's renditions – is even half so strong as the tone adopted by Gaelic-language children's literature like Grant's *Dùsgadh na Féinne* and MacFarlane's *Am Mosgladh Mòr*, urging their own readers to awaken from slumber and redress years of de-politicised apathy. The tales composed in English during the Celtic Revival, based loosely upon much older Gaelic literary tradition – but, as we have seen, dependent upon a narrow range of existing translations – devote themselves instead to promoting the idealised, romanticised heroism and poignantly beautiful tragedy of particular characters' newly reshaped lives. Though their specific audience is sometimes far less clear than for our Gaelic plays – as is the extent of their actual circulation among Scottish children – their authors share something of Grant's and MacFarlane's desire to promote dearly held personal concerns, and those of the Revival more widely, among a new generation of younger readers.

Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful to the following colleagues for their advice and a number of references: Sheila Kidd, Aonghas MacCoinnich, Priscilla Scott, Michael Shaw, and Mark Williams. Permission to cite from the letters of William Sharp was granted kindly by Professor William F. O'Halloran.

Notes

1 Katherine Whyte Grant, *Dùsgadh na Féinne* (Paisley: J & R. Parlane, 1908). MacFarlane's play was serialised in a periodical, *The Celtic Monthly*, before a reduced version appeared as a stand-alone publication: Malcolm MacFarlane, 'Am Mosgladh Mòr', *The Celtic Monthly,* 22:7 (July 1914): 136–39; 22:8 (August 1914): 156–58; 22:9 (September 1914): 171–74; 23:3 (March 1915): 54–57, 23:4 (April 1915): 74–77, 23:5 (May 1915): 82–86, and Calum MacPharlain, *Am Mosgladh Mor* (Glascho: An Comunn Gaidhealach, *c.* 1925). All of the English translations from Gaelic in this chapter are by Innes.

2 T. M. Murchison, 'Lachlan Macbean', in Derick Thomson (ed.), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford: Blackwell Reference, 1983), p. 160.

3 L. Macbean, 'The Mission of the Celt', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness,* 21 (1896–97): 56–69 (pp. 57–66).

4 Ibid., p. 69.

5 Antti Aarne & Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1981, 2nd revision), p. 265.
6 Clare A. P. Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Plate XXX.
7 Patrick Geddes, 'The Scots Renascence', *Edinburgh Review,* 88 (1992):17–23 (pp. 22–23). My thanks to Dr Michael Shaw for alerting me to this example. See also Murdo MacDonald, 'Art, the Highlands and the Celtic Revival', in C. MacLachlan and R. W. Renton (eds), *Gael and Lowlander in Scottish Literature: Cross-Currents in Scottish Writing in the Nineteenth Century* (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2015), pp. 203–15.
8 Geraint Evans, 'Modernist Arthur: The Welsh Revival', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *A Companion to Arthurian Literature* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 434–48.
9 Also referred to as 'King in the Mountain', or 'Sleeping Army'. For studies of this tale-type in Ireland see D. Ó hÓgáin, 'An É an tAm Fós É?', *Béaloideas*, 42/44 (1974–1976): 213–308, and 'Has the Time Come?' (MLSIT 8009): The Barbarossa Legend in Ireland and Its Historical Background', *Béaloideas,* 59 (1991): 197–207.
10 Seosamh MacCathmhaoil, 'The Sleepers of Aileach-Neid', *Ulad,* 1 (November 1904): 4–6. For the quotation from *The Irish News* see Marnie Hay, 'Explaining Uladh: cultural nationalism in Ulster', in B. T. FitzSimon & J. H. Murphy (eds), *The Irish Revival Reappraised* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 119–31 (p. 126). The slogan might be translated as 'Red Hand [to] the top' or 'Red Hand atop'.
11 W. T. Kilgour, *Lochaber in War and Peace* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1908), pp. 125–26.
12 J. Sobieski & C. E. Stuart, *Lays of the Deer Forest* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1848), Vol. 2, pp. 525–27.
13 See, for instance, James MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales,* (London: D. Nutt, 1891), pp. ix, 73–75.
14 On the deaths see Geraldine Parsons, 'Breaking the Cycle? Accounts of the death of Finn', in Sharon Arbuthnot and Geraldine Parsons (eds), *The Gaelic Finn Tradition* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 81–96.
15 Lady Augusta Gregory, *Gods and Fighting Men* (London: John Murray, 1904), pp. 435–36 (this may not be considered as 'children's literature' *per se*, but W. B. Yeats's preface does imagine it as being read to children; see note 79, below); Donald Alexander Mackenzie, *Finn and His Warrior Band* (London: Black & Son, 1911), pp. 245–48; Violet Russell, *Heroes of the Dawn* (London: Maunsel, 1914), pp. 248–51.
16 Sheila M. Kidd (ed.), *Còmhraidhean nan Cnoc: The Nineteenth-Century Gaelic Prose Dialogue* (Glasgow: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 2016), pp. 5–6.
17 Michelle Macleod, 'Language in Society: 1800 to the Modern Day', in Moray Watson and Michelle Macleod (eds), *The Edinburgh Companion to the Gaelic Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 22–45.
18 [Christopher Anderson], *The first book which is used in the Gaelic circulating schools* (Edinburgh; A. Balfour, 1816). For a fuller treatment of these primers see Kidd, *Còmhraidhean nan Cnoc*, pp. 6–7.
19 Ibid., pp. 6, 33.
20 Sheila M. Kidd, 'Caraid nan Gaidheal and 'Friend of Emigration': Gaelic Emigration Literature of the 1840s', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 81.1 (2002): 52–69 (pp. 61–62).

21 Donald E. Meek, 'Gaelic Printing and Publishing', in Bill Bell, Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall (eds), *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 3: Ambition and Industry 1800–1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 107–22 (p. 110).
22 Duncan Grant, *The Duty of Children to Love and Seek Christ* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant, 1822); Donncha Grannt, *Dleasdanas na Cloinne bhi 'g iarruidh agus a' gràdhachadh Chrìosd* (Dun-Éidin: Uilleam Oliphant, 1829).
23 Fiona O' Hanlon and Lindsay Paterson, 'Gaelic Education since 1872', in Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman and Lindsay Paterson (eds), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 304–25.
24 Michael Newton, 'Tradition and Innovation in Twentieth-Century Scottish Gaelic Literature', in Sarah Dunnigan and Suzanne Gilbert (eds), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Traditional Literatures* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 123–33 (p. 124).
25 O' Hanlon and Paterson, 'Gaelic Education since 1872', pp. 304–25. On the situation and politicisation of Gaelic in education as reflected in the Gaelic *còmhraidhean* ('dialogues') published in a wide range of periodicals see Kidd, *Còmhraidhean nan Cnoc*, pp. 69–112.
26 [No Author], 'Teachers of Gaelic: 1 – Miss Mary D. McQueen, Oban High School', *An Gàidheal* 23:3 (1927): 34–5 (p. 34).
27 Calum MacPharlain, *An Treòraiche* (Struibhle [Stirling]: Aonghas MacAoidh, 1903); Calum MacPharlain, *An Comh-Threòraiche* (Stirling: Aonghas MacAoidh, 1911). For some comment on the Gaelic school readers see Donald John MacLeod, 'Gaelic Prose', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 49 (1974–76): 198–230 (p. 214).
28 M. C. MacLeod (ed.), *Modern Gaelic Bards* (Stirling: Eneas MacKay, 1908), pp. 202–03.
29 MacPharlain, *An Comh-Threòraiche*, p. 44. For more on MacFarlane see Roderick MacLeod, 'Malcolm MacFarlane (1853–1931) of Dalavich and Elderslie; Writer, Composer, Correspondent and Controversialist', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 64 (2004–2006): 299–315.
30 On the history of plays in Gaelic see Michelle Macleod and Moray Watson, 'In the Shadow of the Bard: The Gaelic Short Story, Novel, and Drama since the Early Twentieth Century', in Ian Brown *et al.* (eds), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature Volume 3: Modern Transformations: New Identities (from 1918)* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp 273–82, and several articles in a special issue (Volume 9) of the *International Journal of Scottish Theatre and Screen*, ijosts.ubiquitypress.com/34/volume/9/issue/0/. For the nineteenth-century *còmhradh* ('dialogue') as precursor to playwriting in Gaelic see Kidd, *Còmhraidhean nan Cnoc*, p. 61.
31 Ealasaid Chaimbeul, *Air Mo Chuairt* (Steòrnabhagh: Acair, 1982), p. 23. For the children's play she describes see Dòmhnall Mac na Ceàrdaich, *D.M.N.C.: Sgrìobhaidhean Dhòmhnaill Mhic na Ceàrdaich* (Inbhir Nis: Clàr, 2014). I would like to thank Dr Aonghas MacCoinnich for alerting me to Chaimbeul's description.
32 Grant, *Dùsgadh na Féinne*, p. 15.
33 Sìm Innes, '*Dùsgadh na Féinne* (1908): Katherine Whyte Grant's Scottish Gaelic kinderspiel', in Sharon Arbuthnot, Síle Ní Mhurchú, Geraldine Parsons (eds), *Proceedings of the 2nd International Finn Cycle Conference* (forthcoming 2019).
34 Grant, *Dùsgadh na Féinne*, pp. 12–14.

35 For further discussion of the political context of Grant's play, see Innes, '*Dùsgadh na Féinne*'.
36 A. M. MacKay, 'Editor's Page: Gaelic Musical Play for Children', *The Celtic Monthly,* 22:7 (July 1914), p. 130.
37 Discussed more fully by Innes, '*Dùsgadh na Féinne*'.
38 MacFarlane, 'Am Mosgladh Mòr', *The Celtic Monthly*, 23, p. 54.
39 Priscilla Scott, 'With heart and voice ever devoted to the cause': women in the Gaelic Movement, 1886–1914' (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2013: www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/9913), pp. 92–94 on Harriet Stewart.
40 David Clement, 'William Ferguson: Tales and Traditions from a Morvern Gaelic Speaker', *Tocher,* 9 (1973): 18–25 (p. 19). See also, [No Author], 'Teachers of Gaelic: VII – Miss Harriet Stewart', *An Gàidheal* 23:9 (1928): 130–31.
41 Scott, 'With heart and voice', pp. 37, 89. For Juliet and her family background see Somerled MacMillan, 'A Letter from D. C. MacPherson to Juliet MacDonald, 1879', *Scottish Gaelic Studies,* 11 (1968): 237–47.
42 MacFarlane, 'Am Mosgladh Mòr', *The Celtic Monthly*, 22:7, p. 136.
43 Erich Poppe, *Of cycles and other critical matters: Some issues in Medieval Irish literary history and criticism*, E. C. Quiggin Memorial Lectures, 9 (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, & Celtic, 2008).
44 Kuno Meyer, 'Macgnímartha Finn', *Révue Celtique*, 5 (1882): 195–204, translated in Joseph Nagy, *The Wisdom of the Outlaw: The boyhood deeds of Finn in Gaelic narrative tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 209–21.
45 Cécile O'Rahilly (ed.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976), pp. 13–27, 136–48 (translation); translated more loosely in Jeffrey Gantz (ed.), *Early Irish myths and sagas* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1981), pp. 134–46.
46 O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I*, pp. 22, 145 (translation).
47 The heightened tension they induce among their audience was described by James Carney as a 'stylistic highlight' of the *Táin*; 'The history of Early Irish literature: The state of research', in Gearóid Mac Eoin (ed.), *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Celtic Studies* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1983), pp. 113–30 (p. 114). For discussion of the significance of the 'boyhood deeds' anent Cù Chulainn's development as a warrior *par excellence* see Doris Edel, *Inside the Táin: Exploring Cú Chulainn, Fergus, Ailill, and Medb* (Berlin: Curach Bhán Publications, 2015), pp. 31–47.
48 O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I*, pp. 26, 148 (translation).
49 The Scottish manuscript context of self-contained episodes such as *Aided Con Culainn* ('Cù Chulainn's violent death') is discussed by Thomas Clancy, 'Die like a man? The Ulster Cycle death-tale anthology', *Aiste*, 2 (2008): 70–94; see also Donald Meek, 'The Scottish tradition of Fian ballads in the middle ages', in Cathal G. Ó hÁinle & D. E. Meek (eds), *Unity in Diversity: Studies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic language, literature, and history* (Dublin: School of Irish, Trinity College Dublin, 2004), pp. 9–23.
50 Pearse's friend, Desmond Ryan, wrote poignantly of Cù Chulainn as the 'dark, sad boy' of whom Pearse spoke so often that he became 'an important if invisible member of [St Enda's] staff'); Ryan, 'A Retrospect', in Desmond Ryan (ed.), *The Complete Works of P. H. Pearse: St Enda's and its founder* (Dublin: Phoenix Press Publishing Company Ltd., 1917), p. 90. In June 1909, a pageant based on Cù Chulainn's macgnímrada was performed in

St Enda's grounds in front of 500 guests; see Brendan Walsh, *Boy Republic: Patrick Pearse and Radical Education* (Dublin: The History Press Ireland, 2013), p. 155, and Elaine Sisson, *Pearse's Patriots, St Enda's and the Cult of Boyhood* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004).

51 See Philip O'Leary, *The Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881–1921* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

52 Flavia Alaya, *William Sharp, 'Fiona Macleod', 1855–1905* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 126.

53 Robert Crawford, *The Modern Poet: Poetry, academia and knowledge since the 1750s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 158; see also Murdo MacDonald, 'Celticism and Internationalism in the circle of Partick Geddes', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 6/2 (2005): 69–83, and 'Anima Celtica: Embodying the soul of the nation in 1890s Edinburgh', in Tricia Cusack and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch (eds), *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures* (Aldershot:Ashgate, 2003), pp. 29–38.

54 Chiefly his 'Children of Lir', completed in 1913; National Library of Scotland Acc. 6866/5 [one of Duncan's work-in-progress notebooks, spanning December 1912 to September 1913], pp. 65–67. Ella Young, *Celtic Wonder Tales* (Dublin: Maunsel & Co., Ltd., 1910).

55 See Kate Louise Mathis, 'An Irish poster girl? Writing Deirdre during the Revival', in Willy Maley, Paddy Lyons, John Miller (eds), *Romantic Ireland from Tone to Gonne*: *Fresh perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 263–81 (pp. 267–70).

56 Charles Squire, *The mythology of the British islands: An Introduction to Celtic myth, legend, poetry and romance* (London: The Gresham Publishing Company, 1905), p. v.

57 Eleanor Hull, *Cuchullin Saga* (London: Alfred Nutt, 1898), p. xiii.

58 Eleanor Hull, *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster* (London: George G. Harrap & Company, 1909).

59 Ibid., p. 12.

60 Eleanor Hull, *The Boys' Cuchulain: Heroic Legends of Ireland* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1910).

61 O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I*, pp. 25, 147–48 (translation), and Gantz, *Early Irish Myths*, p. 146; Hull, *Cuchulain, The Hound of Ulster*, p. 55.

62 W. B. Yeats, *Deirdre,* b*y W. B. Yeats, being volume five of Plays for an Irish Theatre* (London: A. H. Bullen & Dublin: Maunsel & Co., Ltd, 1907); Virginia Bartholemé Rohan (ed.), *Deirdre: Manuscript Materials by W. B. Yeats* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

63 Mathis, 'An Irish poster-girl'.

64 Alexander Carmichael, 'Deirdire [part i: Gaelic]', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 13 (1888): 241–57; [part ii: English] 14 (1889): 370–89. It was printed in book form, with facing-page Gaelic and English text and illustrations by John Duncan, in 1905; Carmichael, *Deirdire and the Lay of the Children of Uisne* (Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 1905). For Duncan, see most recently Mark Williams, *Ireland's Immortals: A History of the Gods of Irish Myth* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 393–405.

65 Fiona Macleod, 'The Gael and his heritage', in *The Winged Destiny: Studies in the Spiritual History of the Gael* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1904), pp. 207–46 (p. 240).

66 Vernam Hull (ed.), *Longes mac n-Uislenn: The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu* (New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1949), translated pp. 60–69; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths*, pp. 256–67.

67 Cornelius Buttimer, 'Longes mac n-Uislenn reconsidered', *Éigse*, 28 (1994–5): 1–41 (p. 7); Joan Radner, '"Men Will Die": poets, harpers, and women in Early Irish Literature', in A. T. E. Matonis and D. Melia (eds), *Celtic Languages, Celtic Cultures* (Van Nuys, CA: Ford & Bailie, 1990), pp. 172–86 (p. 177).

68 Hull, *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, p. 62. The ambiguity of *ben*, commonly 'wife' as well as 'woman' in Modern Irish, has led several scholars to assume, incorrectly, that it is conventional marriage to the girl that Conchobor has in mind; see most recently Síle Ní Mhurchú, 'Derdriu', in Siân Echard & Robert Rouse (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain* (John Wiley & Sons, 2017), and Kate Louise Mathis, 'Parallel "wives"; Deirdriu and Lúaine in Longes mac n-Uislenn and Tochmarc Lúaine ocus Aided Athairne', in Gregory Toner and Séamus Mac Mathúna (eds), *Ulidia 3: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales* (Berlin: Curach Bhán Publications, 2013), pp. 17–25 (pp. 19–20).

69 Sharon Arbuthnot, '"Da n-ó mele 7 cuitbuida and so": What did Derdriu say to Noísiu?', in Gregory Toner & Séamus Mac Mathúna (eds), *Ulidia 3: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales* (Berlin: Curach Bhán Publications, 2013), pp. 221–30.

70 National Library of Scotland Adv. Lib. 72.2.3 (the 'Glenmasan' manuscript), compiled c. 1490; see Caoimhín Breatnach, 'Oidheadh Chloinne hUisneach', *Ériu*, 45 (1994): 99–112, and Rúairi Ó hUiginn, 'Growth and development in the late Ulster Cycle: The case of Táin Bó Flidais', in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *CSANA Yearbook 5: Memory and the Modern in Celtic Literatures* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 143–63.

71 Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'The Wooing of Luaine and the Death of Athirne', *Révue Celtique*, 24 (1903): 270–88, discussed in Mathis, 'Parallel wives', pp. 18–19. The most readily accessible version of this episode during the Revival was Eugene O'Curry's English-language translation, printed alongside his 'Three Sorrows of Storytelling' in 1862–63 (see note 76, below, and Mathis, 'An Irish poster-girl', pp. 265–67). Most apparent in the *Deirdres* of Lady Gregory and Yeats (*id*., pp. 269–710), it was dwelled on also by Fiona Macleod, whose interest seems to have been stimulated by the opportunity to transfer Deirdre's propensity for unavoidable tragedy and ill-judgement onto her daughter; 'Honey of the Wild Bees', in Fiona Macleod, *The Dominion of Dreams* (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1899), pp. 247–59.

72 Kate Louise Mathis, 'Mourning the maic Uislenn: Blood, death, and grief in Longes mac n-Uislenn and 'Oidheadh Chloinne hUisneach', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 29 (2013): 1–20 (pp. 10–15).

73 In Gaelic-language lament and elegiac verse, other women's losses of their sweethearts are often compared to her own loss of Noísiu; see Kate Louise Mathis, '"Tha Mulad Air M'Inntinn" and early modern Gaelic dialogue poetry', *Aiste*, 5 (forthcoming, 2019).

74 See Kathryn Stelmach, 'Dead Deirdre? Myth and Mortality in the Irish Literary Revival', in Joseph Falaky Nagy (ed.), *CSANA Yearbook 6: Myth in Celtic Literatures* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 141–61.

75 Fiona Macleod, *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna* (Portland, Maine: Thomas B. Mosher, 1903), p. 4. For a full list of the works she inspired, see T. Miyake (ed.), *Deirdre*: *From the Earliest Manuscripts to Yeats and Synge* (Okayama-Ken: University Education Press, 1999).

76 Eugene O'Curry, 'The "Trí Thruaige na Scélaigheachta" of Erinn I: The exile of the Children of Uisneach', *The Atlantis, or register of literature and science of the Catholic*

University of Ireland, 3 (1862): 377–422; 'The "Trí Thruaige na Scélaigheachta" of Erinn II: The fate of the Children of Lir', and 'III: The fate of the Children of Tuireann', 4 (1863): 113–57, 157–240. It was recommended, for example, by 'Fiona Macleod' to Yeats, who brought it to the attention of Lady Gregory; see John Kelly & R. Schuchard (eds), *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats, 1901–1904* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 136–41. Gerard Murphy suggested that the 'Three Sorrows', which have little in common besides numerous examples of violent death, became associated only in the scribal tradition of the eighteenth century, but are combined with increasing regularity in the nineteenth; Murphy, *Fianaíocht agus rómánsaíocht: The Ossianic lore and romantic tales of medieval Ireland*, Irish Life and Culture 11 (Dublin: O Lochlainn, 1955), pp. 32–33.

77 Murray Pittock, *Spectrum of Decadence: The Literature of the 1890s* (London: Routledge, 2014, 2nd edition), p. 101.

78 Lady Augusta Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne: The Story of the Men of the Red Branch of Ulster* (London: John Murray, 1902).

79 W. B. Yeats, preface to Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, p. xvii. His preface to her later volume, *Gods and Fighting Men: The Story of the Tuatha De Danaan and of the Fianna of Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1904), p. xiv, observed more clearly still that 'I have wished to become a child again that I might find this book, that not only tells one of such a country, but is fuller than any other book that tells of heroic life, [and] of the childhood that is in all folk-lore; [it is] dearer to me than all the [grown-ups'] books of the western world'. For the influence of Standish James O'Grady's child-oriented versions of Cù Chulainn's adventures upon Yeats, see Máire West, 'Kings, heroes and warriors: Aspects of children's literature in Ireland in the era of emergent nationalism', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 76/3 (1994): 165–84 (pp. 167–70).

80 Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, pp. v–vi.

81 Ibid., p. 111.

82 Hull, *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, p. 62.

83 Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, pp. 106–07.

84 Ibid., p. 123.

85 Ibid., p. 135.

86 Ibid., p. 133; see also Gregory, *Gods and Fighting Men*, p. 101.

87 Ibid., p. 137. See also James Stephens, *Deirdre* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1923), p. 286.

88 Hull, *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, p. 69; Gantz, *Early Irish myths*, p. 267.

89 Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, p. 140.

90 Whitley Stokes' English translation of part of the text from the Glenmasan manuscript, published in 1887; Stokes, 'The Death of the Sons of Uisneach', *Irische Texte*, 2/2 (1887): 109–84. Lady Gregory was probably unaware that he had chosen to replace the brothers' death-scene, absent from Glenmasan itself due to a missing leaf, with a late-eighteenth-century version copied from another of the National Library's holdings (Adv. Lib. 72.2.6); see Mathis, 'Mourning the maic Uislenn', p. 7. This is the same version translated in its entirety by Alexander Cameron as 'The Tale of Deirdre', influential later to 'Fiona Macleod'; see below.

91 James Pethica (ed.), *Lady Gregory's Diaries: 1892–1902* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1996), pp. 293, 305.

92 Carmichael, 'Deirdire [part ii]', p. 376; Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, p. 111.

93 Ibid., p. 133.
94 John Macneill's version was subject to considerable revision by Carmichael prior to publication, including the almost-verbatim insertion of several episodes from the Glenmasan manuscript; see Tristan ap Rheinallt, 'Alexander Carmichael, Alan Bruford and *Deirdire*', *Scottish Gaelic Studies,* 28 (2011): 227–32.
95 Carmichael, 'Deirdire [part ii]', p. 385.
96 Alan Bruford, '"Deirdire" and Alexander Carmichael's treatment of oral sources', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 14 (1983); 1–24 (p. 16).
97 Hull, *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster*, p. 277.
98 Ibid., pp. 238–39 (emphasis added).
99 Ibid., p. 277.
100 Ibid., p. 278.
101 Identified by Douglas Hyde, who made a partial transcription and translation of his text in the 1890s, as the work of Samuel Bryson, or Mac Brisi, apparently an associate of Wolf Tone and the United Irishmen in 1798; Hyde, 'Déirdre', *Zeitschrift für Celtisches Philologie*, 2 (1899): 138–55. At 81 pages in manuscript, it is also by far the longest of the Early Modern versions, adjudged by Hyde as largely unique in its presentation of Deirdre's girlhood.
102 Ibid., p. 147. Bryson even adds an explanatory gloss to his chosen term for their conjugal couch ("*cearcaille* a bed; *aird cearcaille foidhein* his own Royal bed").
103 Hull, *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, ll. 90–9 (translation by Mathis).
104 Hull, *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster*, pp. 199–200 (emphasis added). The motif of the ball-game itself is Hull's only direct borrowing from Bryson (*loc. cit*., p. 153), but its placement within her tale is otherwise dissimilar.
105 Hull, *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, pp. 61–62.
106 Hull, *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster*, p. 197.
107 Ibid., p. 199.
108 Ibid.
109 Letter from William Sharp to John Macleay (an acquaintance of Patrick Geddes and fellow contributor to *The Evergreen*), dated September 29, 1897; The William Sharp Archive, ed. W. F. Halloran, www.ies.sas.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/Research%20Projects/Fiona%20McLeod%20Archive/1897.pdf, section XVI, pp. 61–62 [accessed 7 May 7 2018]. Sharp, already an author in his own right, published a variety of books and collections of poetry under the pseudonym, 'Fiona Macleod', which he adopted in the strictest secrecy in 1894. Fiona's creation was inspired by his friendship with Edith Wingate Rinder (1864–1962), the niece-by-marriage of Sharp's wife's closest childhood friend, women's rights' activist Mona Caird (1854–1932); Elizabeth Sharp herself acknowledged that William 'found the desired incentive towards a true[r] expression of himself, in the stimulus and sympathetic understanding of the friend to whom he dedicated the first of the books [*Pharais*] published under his pseudonym'; Elizabeth A. Sharp, *William Sharp (Fiona Macleod): A memoir* (London: Heinemann, 1910), p. 222; see Williams, *Ireland's Immortals*, pp. 370–89, and Michael Shaw, 'William Sharp's Neo-paganism: Queer identity and the national family', in D. Dau & S. Preston (eds), *Queer Victorian Families: Curious Relations in Literature* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 77–96.
110 Sharp, *Memoir*, p. 285.

111 Based loosely on *Oidheadh Chloinne Lir* ('The violent death of the Children of Lir'); see Caoimhín Breatnach, 'The religious significance of Oidheadh Chloinne Lir', *Ériu*, 50 (1999): 1–40.
112 *Oidheadh Chloinne Tuirenn* ('The violent death of Turenn's sons'); see Caoimhín Breatnach, 'Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann agus Cath Maige Tuired: dhá shampla de mhiotas eiseamláireach', *Éigse*, 32 (2000): 35–46.
113 Fiona Macleod, *The Laughter of Peterkin* (London: Constable & Co., 1897), p. 27.
114 Ibid., p. 26. Flavia Alaya identifies him, nonetheless, as 'without doubt Sharp himself, liberated from perspective and restraint by the camouflage of [Fiona's] pseudonymous authorship'; Alaya, *William Sharp*, p. 23. Sharp's own, starkly factual memoir of his youth was published firmly as 'William', and Alaya draws a clear distinction between it and the 'veiled and fictionalized autobiography' of *Peterkin's* prologue; *id*., pp. 22–23, and William Sharp, 'In the days of my youth', *Mainly about people* (November 14, 1900): 484–85.
115 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 27 (emphasis added).
116 A recurring character in Fiona's work, based upon the fisherman, Seumas Macleod, whose surname was borrowed by Sharp for his alter ego; Fiona Macleod, 'Seumas: A memoir', in *The Winged Destiny*, pp. 247–50 (p. 247). A letter composed to Edith Rinder's husband, Frank, referred to Seumas as the 'father of Fiona'; Sharp, *Memoir*, p. 316.
117 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 30.
118 Ibid., pp. 177–78.
119 For the Ossianic controversy, see most recently Dafydd Moore (ed.), *The International Companion to James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2017); for the genuine Gaelic tradition underlying Macpherson's Deirdre, see Derick S. Thomson, *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1952), pp. 52–54. William Sharp had re-edited the collected *Poems of Ossian* in 1896, providing in preface a well-reasoned, scholarly summation of earlier arguments for and against the poems' authenticity, startling in contrast to the detail and general tone of his alter-ego's 'Darthool', as well as much of Fiona's typical output; James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes & Co., 1896), pp. ix–xxiv. Elizabeth Sharp's revised edition of *The Laughter of Peterkin* in the *Collected Works of Fiona Macleod* (1927) makes the connection to Macpherson explicit, but Fiona's original explains 'Darthool' simply as the correct Scottish, not Irish, version of the name: 'here in our own land she is called Darthool [and] that I will call her'; Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 179.
120 Ibid., pp. 178–79. Like Seamas Macleod, the original of *Peterkin's* 'Ian Mor', 'Barabal' (sometimes Barbara) Mac-Aodh was also inspired by William's own childhood nurse; Sharp, *Memoir*, p. 5.
121 Alexander Cameron, 'Deirdre and the Sons of Uisneach', in Alexander MacBain & Rev. John Kennedy (eds), *Reliquiae Celticae: Texts, papers and studies in Gaelic literature and philosophy left by the late Rev. Alexander Cameron, Volume ii* (Inverness: The Northern Counties Publishing Company Ltd., 1894), pp. 421–61; Douglas Hyde, *Three Sorrows of Storytelling and Ballads of St. Columkille* (London: T. Fisher & Unwin, 1895). The reference to Hyde's poem is another clear intrusion into Fiona's work of William Sharp's more scholarly activity: his preface to *Lyra Celtica: An Anthology of representative Celtic poetry* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd Ltd., 1896), edited by his wife Elizabeth, recommended it as the very best version of Deirdre's story, 're-told by one who is both a poet and a scholar'.

122 Macpherson, *Poems of Ossian*, p. xxii.
123 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 187.
124 Ibid., p. 191.
125 Ibid. (emphasis added), p. 198.
126 Ibid., p. 214.
127 Ibid.
128 Ibid., pp. 216–17.
129 Ibid., p. 223.
130 Ibid., p. 224.
131 Hyde, *Three Sorrows of Storytelling*, p. 3.
132 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin* (emphasis added), pp. 185–86.
133 Ibid., pp. 248–9, 258–9; Hyde, *Three Sorrows of Storytelling*, pp. 19–20, 25. For the earliest version of Deirdre's visions, from the Glenmasan manuscript (c. 1490), see Donald Mackinnon, 'The Glenmasan Manuscript', *The Celtic Review*, 1, no. 2 (October, 1904): 104–31 (pp. 107, 117–19).
134 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 259.
135 Ibid., p. 275.
136 Hull, *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster*, p. 240.
137 Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*, p. 137.
138 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, pp. 276–77.
139 Fiona Macleod to Benjamin Burgess Moore; The William Sharp Archive, ed. W. F. Halloran, www.ies.sas.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/Research%20Projects/Fiona%20McLeod%20Archive/1898.pdf, Section XVII, p. 26 [accessed 7 May 2018] (emphasis added).
140 Fiona Macleod to Thomas B. Mosher (July 9, 1901); *id*., Section XXI, p. 29 [accessed May 8, 2018].
141 Ibid. A pitch sent by William Sharp to publisher John Lane in 1894 (just prior to Fiona's official birth, with the publication of *Pharais* the same year) confirms it as a long-held ambition, not yet financially viable: 'It has been a dream with me for many years to write this book, but now I do not see my way to its accomplishment, unless I can obtain a commission that would justify me in devoting myself to it'; *id*., Section XI, pp. 21–22 [accessed 7 May 2018].
142 The exchange of 'Darthool' for 'Deirdrê' was stipulated by another of Fiona's letters to Mosher, dated May 14, 1903; *ibid*., Section XXIII, p. 21 [accessed May 8, 2018]. 'Nathos', too, is altered to 'Naois' throughout.
143 Esther Mona Harvey, née Rinder (1901–1993), is also one of the dedicatees of The William Sharp Archive (www.ies.sas.ac.uk/research/william-sharp-fiona-macleod-archive/acknowledgements [accessed 5 May 2018]); its editor, William F. Halloran, implies that she was William Sharp's own daughter, not Edith Rinder's husband Frank's (*id*., Section XXIV p. 6). Flavia Alaya identified 'Esther Mona' mistakenly as the daughter of Edith's aunt-by-marriage, Mona Caird, for whom she was probably named; Alaya, *William Sharp*, p. 123. Another of Fiona's letters to Mosher, dated June 3, 1903, requests the hasty dispatch of two advance copies of the new book, intended as a gift to Esther for her second birthday the following month; The William Sharp Archive, (www.ies.sas.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/Research%20Projects/Fiona%20McLeod%20Archive/1903.pdf, Section XXI, p. 21 (accessed 7 May 2018).

144 E.g. Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 177; Fiona Macleod, *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna* (Portland, Maine: Thomas B. Mosher, 1903), p. 3.
145 Macleod, *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, p. v (emphasis added).
146 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 179.
147 Macleod, *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, pp. xi–xii (emphasis added). A third version of this preface, retaining the 'call to motherhood' though without its specific dedication to Esther, was printed as 'The Ancient Beauty' in Fiona's *The Winged Destiny* (1904); Macleod, *op. cit*., pp. 329–38.
148 It may also have been influenced by her evident fondness for a poem, 'Ora nam Buadh' ('The invocation of the Graces'), also collected by Alexander Carmichael and published in the first volume of his magnum opus, *Carmina Gadelica* (1900). This poem, suggested by Carmichael as an invocation for 'a maiden on [the occasion of] her marriage' – when imminent motherhood was also anticipated – places Deirdre in the exalted company of several other Gaelic heroines whom young women should hope to emulate; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations, volume I* (Edinburgh, T. & A. Constable, 1900), p. 7, and Macleod, 'The Gael and his heritage', *loc. cit*., pp. 239–40.
149 Hull, *Longes mac n-Uislenn*, ll. 14–15, p. 60 (translation).
150 Ibid., ll. 86–89, p. 62 (translation).
151 It is interesting to note that John Todhunter, the other contemporary writer whose work referred to Deirdre's mother, was a friend of William's, and more interesting still that his poem, 'The Fate of the Sons of Usna', observes only that the nameless woman died in childbirth; Sharp, *Memoir*, p. 141; John Todhunter, 'The Fate of the Sons of Usna', in *Three Irish Bardic Tales, being metrical versions of the three tales known as the Three Sorrows of Storytelling* (London, J. M. Dent & Co., 1896), p. 52.
152 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 189; *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, p. 14.
153 Macleod, *Laughter*, p. 192; *Deirdrê*, p. 17.
154 Macleod, *Laughter*, pp. 193–94; *Deirdrê*, p. 18. The maliciousness of her response to Deirdre's vision of the blood-soaked calf is also tempered: Fiona has it, instead, that her introduction of Naois to the narrative is moved solely by 'the power of Destiny', to which she swiftly regrets giving voice once the extent of the girl's enchantment by his description becomes clear.
155 Hyde, *Three Sorrows of Storytelling*, p. 9.
156 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, pp. 206–07; *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, p. 30 (emphasis added).
157 Macleod, *From the Hills of Dream* (Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes & Co., 1896), p. 100; Alaya, *William Sharp*, p. 124.
158 The series, titled 'Childhood's inheritance', depicts a young boy "growing almost wildly on the [Scottish] moors, in union and communion with his natural surroundings"; Alaya, *William Sharp*, p. 33 (and note 114, above).
159 Hull's assertion that Deirdre and Naesi were childhood friends is closest, but derives from an older source (as note 101, above).
160 Louey Chisholm [Louise Charlotte Jack], *Celtic Tales Told to the Children* (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1910), p. vi. Her obituary was published in *The Scotsman* on 29 October 1948 (I am indebted for this reference to Dr Priscilla Scott).

161 As reviewed by "Mr Clement K. Shorter in *The Sphere*", in a publisher's advertisement for earlier volumes in the series attached to the inside cover of *Celtic Tales Told to the Children*.
162 Jude Burkhauser (ed.), *Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design 1880–1920* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1990), pp. 220–21.
163 For example, the episode in which Deirdre and Nathos first meet, and are fearful of being spied upon; Chisholm, *Celtic Tales*, p. 15; Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 220, and *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, pp. 41–42.
164 Chisholm, *Celtic Tales*, p. 2. Chisholm's 'star-eyed' Deirdre is borrowed from Hyde's description in his *Three Sorrows* (p. 3), whose influence is also acknowledged (*id*., p. vi).
165 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, p. 275; *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, p. 90.
166 Chisholm, *Celtic Tales*, pp. 40–41.
167 *Id*., p. vii (emphasis added).
168 Yeats, in correspondence with Lady Gregory, described Deirdre as a 'normal, compassionate, wise house-wife', whose feeling for Noísiu is 'the feeling of the house-wife for the man of the house'; see Mathis, 'An Irish poster girl', p. 270.
169 *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, p. v. Chisholm, who may be thought to have ignored this advice, may not have been aware of the stand-alone publication of *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, and of its reshaped presentation, since her acknowledgments (p. vi) refer to *The Laughter of Peterkin* alone.
170 Macleod, *Laughter of Peterkin*, pp. 178–79; *Deirdrê and the Sons of Usna*, p. 4.
171 Ibid, pp. xi–xii.

II. ROMANCE, ADVENTURE, AND IMPERIALISM

7. Historical Facts and 'Romantic Daring': Thomas Nelson & Sons, the Adventure Tale, and the Late-Victorian Education Market

ANNE MARIE HAGEN

When the adventure tale author Herbert Hayens (1861–1944)[1] submitted his manuscript of *Under the Lone Star: A Story of Revolution in Nicaragua* to the Edinburgh and London publisher, Thomas Nelson & Sons in 1894, he wrote: 'I have endeavoured to make it wholesome & of a moral tone; […] I have sent the MS to you, since, as an Elementary Schoolmaster I have been so constantly brought into association with your publications'.[2] This was naturally intended to flatter the publisher but also illustrates how Nelson's reputation in the field of educational publishing drew attention to its children's fiction list. It was a connection which Nelson actively cultivated; for example, the firm's children's fiction for prize book purposes was widely advertised in journals which catered to education professionals.[3] Over the course of the nineteenth century, Thomas Nelson, and other Scottish companies, like Collins and Blackie, had expanded into the educational market which grew exponentially following the Education Acts of 1870 and 1872.[4] Education and religion are historically important parts of both children's publishing and Scottish publishing; and with the presbyterian emphasis on reading the Bible and Enlightenment ideals of improvement, markets for both religious and educational works were well established in early nineteenth-century Scotland.[5] Scottish publishers not only produced iconic children's books in the nineteenth century: their early involvement in the fields of education and religion also brought to children's publishing a particular focus on morality and didacticism. Thomas Nelson & Sons' distinctly religious output can be traced to the company's infancy when the founding Thomas Nelson in the late 1810s began to publish reprints of works such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Nelson was among the early adopters of stereotype printing in book publishing; using this method of

mass production,[6] the publisher kept the retail prices of its books low, and the company was considered 'a pioneer in the production of literature for the million'.[7]

Thomas Nelson's evangelical desire to bring wholesome and affordable reading material to the new reading publics which emerged in the early nineteenth century resonates in the phrase frequently used by reviewers to describe what they perceived as the impeccable morality of Nelson's children's books: it was 'unexceptionable'.[8] This is not to say that the children's books published by Nelson and other Scottish publishers in the nineteenth century solely consisted of books on religious topics, although early children's books by Nelson did include Bible lessons and tracts in chapbook format.[9] In the 1850s and 1860s, Nelson expanded its children's list by publishing evangelical children's writers such as W. H. G. Kingston, 'A. L. O. E.' (Charlotte Maria Tucker), R. M. Ballantyne, and Deborah Alcock; through these authors, the adventure tale and historical tale featured frequently on the company lists. By the final decade of the nineteenth century, the importance of the adventure tale for the Nelson firm became even more apparent. Just under half of the firm's catalogue of new children's books for 1898–99 was devoted to adventure stories (including historical romances and school stories), making it the single largest category of children's fiction published by Nelson.[10] By examining Nelson's publication processes and marketing of the adventure tale, this chapter explores the role of Scottish publishers in developing connections between education, religion, and children's literature towards the end of the nineteenth century.

In 1893 Dr Gordon Stables (1840–1910) complained in a letter to Nelson that children's 'real education' was delivered 'through low-class literature, sporting papers, the gutter snipe press & picture-house conversation'.[11] To sell his book scheme, Stables was using a familiar rhetoric regarding the perceived failure of the state education system to instil a taste for 'good' literature in children. The remedy would be supplied by this Scottish-born former navy doctor's 'moral and manly' adventure tales.[12] The harmful effects of reading penny literature were often debated in Victorian periodicals and newspapers, and were presented as a threat not only to the individuals concerned but to the very fabric of society.[13] Yet this pessimistic note had

its counterpart in the unwavering belief in the positive transformative powers of print. Edward G. Salmon was a voice of optimism when he argued that adventure tales such as those written by Captain Marryat and W. H. G. Kingston could produce the desired literary taste in the reader, bringing together 'instructive matter and thrilling adventures by land and sea', and that more effort ought to be made to make works such as these readily available.[14] This desire to counteract the perceived detrimental influence of penny literature by exposing children to 'healthy' literature through the education system in the later nineteenth century echoed the techniques employed by religious organisations such as the Religious Tract Society (RTS) and religiously motivated commercial publishers from the 1840s onwards, who increasingly recognised fiction as conducive to disseminating factual knowledge in popular form as well as messages of religion and personal improvement.[15] In this context of improvement, the adventure tale held a privileged position because it was seen as primarily factual, and therefore did not have the same morally dubious qualities associated with penny fiction. Publishers accentuated the adventure tale's links to travel writing through, for example, the book covers, where the authors' names retained the marks of professional military credentials as evidence of their authority for writing these stories. When Nelson expanded its juvenile list in the 1850s with books by R. M. Ballantyne (1825–1894), this was precisely the type of author required to appeal to the firm's religious audiences: strongly religious, with a proven track record of frontier experience to substantiate his expertise as an author, and dedicated to doing factual research for his stories. Review quotations praising the vivacity of Ballantyne's writing style and his real-life experience in working for the Hudson Bay Company on the Canadian frontier were prominently displayed facing the title page of Nelson's 1856 edition of Ballantyne's *The Young Fur Traders*. Along with authors such as Captain Mayne Reid, W. H. G. Kingston, and Jules Verne, R. M. Ballantyne was approved of by the literary establishment precisely because of his ability to teach young readers science, natural history, and geography.[16] Taking advantage of this market potential, Nelson acquired the teaching journal *The Practical Teacher c.*1895 and used it not only to promote the firm's own books but also to address issues connected

with the education system, trends in pedagogy, and juvenile publishing. Demonstrating the crossover market potential of certain types of juvenile fiction, *The Practical Teacher* published an in-depth interview with Herbert Hayens in 1898, who was by then an established Nelson author. In this interview Haynes is quoted highlighting the following characteristics of his work: 'useful geography, accurate history, a healthy tone, plenty of excitement, and, above all, sound moral teaching unobtrusively administered' (in the original article, all descriptors and nouns were in bold emphasis).[17] Historically, religiously motivated publishers had a fraught relationship with fiction, and this resulted in their desire to stress connections between the adventure tale and non-fiction; this also proved a commercial advantage in the education market.

By the 1890s, Nelson had a well-established editorial process designed to take into account the tastes of the firm's established religious audiences, as well as the opportunities afforded them by the education market. Manuscripts which consisted of what the Nelson publisher's readers referred to as 'pure fiction', i.e. those manuscripts considered to be without sufficient factual or historical foundation, were rejected as late as the 1890s, often couched in terms analogous with religiously-based opinions about fiction.[18] It is likely that the presbyterian background of Nelson's principal publisher's readers and the company's religious ethos and established markets, which included the spectrum of protestant denominations, were contributing factors in these decisions.[19] Nelson's marketing supports this conclusion: the presentation of Lucy Taylor's tale of the protestant Reformation, *Through Peril, Toil and Pain,* in the company's catalogue of new children's books for 1898–99 extolled the virtues of fiction being 'the handmaid of history'.[20] By emphasising the historical foundation of the book, Nelson placated any potential lingering concerns which the firm's established religious audiences may have harboured concerning the dangers of fiction.[21] At the same time Nelson recognised that there was a necessity for 'incident' in children's books or, as one publisher's reader expressed it, 'sensational adventures, such as make Ballantynes [*sic*] books of this sort attractive to boyish readers'.[22] The balance of historical detail versus dramatic incident remained a point of contention into the 1890s, as illustrated by the publication history of

Under the Lone Star by Hayens. One of Nelson's readers declared that 'the historical facts give natural scope for hairbreadth escapes & romantic daring' and recommended that it should be published.[23] Another reader's lack of familiarity with South American history led her to question the veracity of the story, and she therefore concluded it would be unsuitable for the firm's intended readers.[24] Conflicting reader reports led to the author being asked to rewrite the manuscript and to emphasise the historical consequences of Colonel Walker's raids in Nicaragua leading up to Walker establishing himself as president of that country, and his subsequent execution. Hayens disagreed with the publisher's reasoning because this meant adding information about events which occurred after the end of his story, when the boy hero was no longer part of Walker's private military expeditions. Nevertheless, Hayens acquiesced with Nelson's demand and wrote a short coda to the story.[25] A compromise was thus reached between the historical facts and the fictional 'hairbreadth escapades' of the boy hero.

The question of fact versus fiction extended to illustrations in adventure tales. In the 1890s Nelson authors were regularly in dialogue with the publisher on how to illustrate their stories. Hayens displayed an attitude to the factual accuracy of the narrative befitting his background as a schoolteacher and encompassing the expectation that the reader would want to trace the characters' movements across the landscape, as evident in the case of *Soldiers of the Legion: A Tale of the Carlist War* (Nelson, 1898). In this book the action played out in a circumscribed area (San Sebastian-Santander-Fuenlabrada); Hayens suggested a map of this area be included in the book.[26] Gordon Stables likewise emphasised the importance of maps for *How Jack Mackenzie Won His Epaulettes: A Story of the Crimean War* (Nelson, 1896), although he advocated simplified maps for ease.[27] In his customary fashion, Stables as the narrator of the book addressed the reader, suggesting that '[a] glance at the plan we have given will give the reader a rough notion of the lie of the land on which the memorable battle of Inkermann [*sic*] was fought'.[28] In Stables's book the illustrations formed an integral part of the text, both through some of the illustrations being printed within the text block, and through the narrator encouraging the reader to study the illustrations. Both authors wanted and expected readers to engage

with the narrative and intended illustrations to guide the readers through the story.

However, the publisher also had a vested interest in the factual accuracy of the illustrations. Discussing a new commission with the artist John Wallis Stacey in 1896, the publisher's detailed instructions make it clear that for Nelson it was crucial to achieve historical accuracy in the characters' clothing, supposed to be from the first half of the fourteenth century.[29] The consideration with which the publisher chose scenes to illustrate, and attention to how these scenes should be composed, suggests that Nelson wanted illustrations to fill a didactic as well as an entertaining purpose. In one of many teaching manuals from this period, the Nelson author and editor, John Gunn, recommended that younger children in particular benefitted from narrative illustrations being incorporated into geography lessons, thereby stimulating the children's imaginations.[30] Gunn was an advocate of the progressive pedagogical principles of Friedrich Fröbel, which favoured activity over passive instruction and placed imagination at the heart of learning. The attention paid to factual accuracy also facilitated reuse of images across several formats and markets: illustrations originally used in juvenile gift books frequently found their way into schoolbooks and vice versa.[31] This process was aided by Nelson's practice of commonly using well-known illustrators, such as W. H. Margetson (1861–1940), to supply illustrations for both textbooks and juvenile fiction; Margetson illustrated both W. H. G. Kingston's adventure tales for Nelson, and the firm's *St. George* History Readers. Significantly, the correspondence files in the Nelson archive reveal the publisher's central role in guiding the conventions for illustrating children's books, thus underscoring that the choice of which scenes to illustrate, as well as the creative choices regarding the depiction of those scenes, was not simply the purview of the artist, only occasionally guided by the writer's instructions or inspiration from other artists.[32] The inclusion of illustrations in the same style and by the same artists as those who illustrated juvenile fiction blurred the distinction between historical fact and fiction; the close attention which Nelson paid to illustrations also ensured that the 'hairbreadth escapades' of the texts were balanced with elevating educational material.[33]

While the publisher continued to accommodate religious audiences, the main reason for the insistence on truth and convincing stories embraced by Nelson's readers at the end of the nineteenth century appears to be related to the education market. This conclusion is supported by editorial discussions regarding the diverse use to which adventure tales might be placed. First and foremost, extracts of adventure tales were used by Nelson and other educational publishers to form lessons in general and supplementary readers.[34] Staples in state elementary schools into the early twentieth century, general readers were schoolbooks in which poems and excerpts or abridgements of longer literary texts were framed by other instructional material like historical summaries, essays, illustrations, and exercises.[35] Based on the overview of books consulted to make lessons for Nelson Readers in 1895, just under half the titles were non-fiction works of history and travel; the rest were adventure tales.[36] These figures are consistent with other publishers' use of historical fiction for the same purposes in this period.[37] The reason for the predominance of historically-based fiction as source texts, from which the excerpts or abridgements were taken, was twofold: first, the 1882 Code of Education did not only specify classic works of literature by, for example, Shakespeare and Milton as acceptable exam material, it also included popular forms of fiction such as adventure tales – *Robinson Crusoe* was mentioned specifically – and novels by Sir Walter Scott, Charles Kingsley and others.[38] Secondly, not all Readers were designed simply to illustrate chronological literary development. The Education Codes from the 1880s stipulated that one-third of the three Readers which were to be used in each school Standard should be 'broadly historical'; the other two-thirds were split between geography, literary compilations, citizenship, and domestic economy.[39] Emphasising the importance of literature and history, the 1882 Code opened up diverse uses of children's fiction.

The adventure tale's ubiquitous presence in the education sector has been noted as a contributing factor in the rise in imperialist sentiment in Britain leading up to 1914.[40] Adventure tales were often set on the imperial frontier, and, it is argued, equally often romanticised the idea of the empire and the nation's history.[41] These investigations routinely draw attention to the convergence of narratives between adventure tales and schoolbooks

because many of the latter were based on adventure, military, and travel literature. This similarity can partly be explained by long-established practices in juvenile and educational publishing. A conflation of narratives between the textual formats in question can be readily observed from Nelson's editorial practice. Although some lessons and entire readers were sometimes commissioned from adventure-tale writers, thus providing a further connection between the adventure tale and the schoolbook, the compilation of readers using adventure tales was mostly handled by Nelson's own editorial staff in the 1890s.[42] Based on extant letters, Jane Macgregor was the editor who carried out much of this work. Macgregor was one of the principal publisher's readers at the firm in the 1890s, several of whom were connected with the Nelson family through the presbyterian Free Church of Scotland. The correspondence between Jane Macgregor and George Mackenzie Brown, Nelson's managing director, offers additional reasons why adventure tales were selected to be source texts, beyond compliance with the Education Codes and the commercial exploitation of the education market.[43]

Adventure tales provided an abundance of source material: from each R. M. Ballantyne book used Macgregor managed to extract enough material to make between two and four lessons.[44] Macgregor's letters indicate that it was the publisher who instructed Macgregor to use adventure tales and older travel accounts as source texts; the editor's own preference was for more scientifically reliable works: 'I am a little afraid of old travels, they often need so much qualification that the young might have their faith in the function of the historian shattered!'[45] It appears that for the publisher the advantage of using adventure tales over more scientific history texts was that the source material had already been digested and rephrased for a juvenile audience in 'brightly written' language, a highly desirable quality in both fiction and non-fiction texts for children based on the frequency with which this term is mentioned in letters.[46] For a reading lesson on tropical Africa, the non-fiction source text with which Macgregor was working was 'too allusive and [consisted of] too much light banter which would bewilder the young in board schools'.[47] This interpretation contains a hint as to the market and audience considerations which led to Nelson

favouring adventure tales as source texts.[48] The adventure tale's descriptive qualities, which led Macgregor to find ample depictions of animal life, customs and travel to include in the readers, and adventure tales being structured on heroic narratives, also made this genre a favoured source for schoolbooks. These qualities were considered to be effective tools according to pedagogical theories in vogue at the turn of the twentieth century, campaigned for by educationists such as Frank Hayward, who was a leading British proponent of Johann Friedrich Herbart's theory of children's character and social development through literary and historical studies, and by Nelson's education editor John Gunn, who interpreted and developed Friedrich Fröbel's teaching methods.[49] Using images, storytelling and foregrounding individual lives wherever possible were considered to be sound methods for engaging children's interest and imaginations, and to be ideal as a foundation from which gradually more complex material would be introduced as the children grew older.

There were also production-side considerations at the root of the source text question. Using adventure tales and popular non-fiction such as travel accounts, a non-expert editor like Macgregor could be hired to mark up the source texts and from that basis create a reader, using existing readers as templates, in a relatively short period of time.[50] Although without academic qualifications, Jane Macgregor was sufficiently well-versed in popular geography and history works from the eighteenth century through to the present day that she, for example, felt qualified to judge that *Martin Rattler* (Nelson, 1858) was 'fairly good' on inland travel in Brazil and that the novel gave 'a very good description of a forest and its inhabitants'.[51] She was also able to determine whether a work was out of date and, if so, by which work it had been superseded.[52] But working with texts which were not adventure tales took longer: Macgregor found that this kind of non-fiction material presumed pre-existing knowledge 'which one is perhaps not justified in expecting of the children for whom the Readers are intended', requiring her to write extensive explanatory passages to contextualise the material to an extent she did not need to do when using adventure tales.[53] Ultimately, the choice of adventure tales as source texts was also a question of editorial capacity, time, and economy.

A significant contributing factor in the endurance of the reader format and the importance of the adventure tale for educational publishers was the persistence of the practice of buying copyright and the relatively short copyright period stipulated by the 1842 Copyright Act which governed late-Victorian publishing.[54] This potentially meant that many adventure tales from the nineteenth century were available for use, but the publisher had to choose texts discerningly. Macgregor's familiarity with non-fiction was valuable in detecting potential copyright hazards, a frequent concern considering the close ties between adventure tales and non-fiction accounts of geography and history. Concluding that many of the 'best incidents' in Ballantyne's *A World of Ice* (Nelson, 1859) had been taken from Dr Elisha Kent Kane, *Arctic Explorations in Search of Sir John Franklin* (Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, and London: Trübner, 1856), she attempted to persuade G. M. Brown that it would be best practice to use the original source,[55] however, Nelson did not own that work. The importance of copyright is demonstrated by Macgregor only using material from those R. M. Ballantyne titles to which Nelson owned the copyright. By the late nineteenth century the royalty system, under which authors retained the copyright to their books and were paid an agreed percentage of the retail price of each copy sold, was becoming more widespread. In the subfield of juvenile publishing, however, it was still common for publishers to buy the copyright outright, and this was the most frequent arrangement used by Nelson, as suggested by the company archive. In addition to giving the publisher the profits on all volume sales, it also allowed publishers complete control over how, and in which forms, the material was disseminated to the public, making possible composite texts such as readers. For the authors, the situation was different: the loss of income which the publisher's ownership and diversification schemes entailed prompted several confrontational letters from Ballantyne, to which Nelson paid no heed.[56]

The cultural significance of Scotland in children's publishing is suggested by the reach of Scottish publishers such as Nelson within the entwined juvenile fiction and education markets. Nelson's 'Royal Readers' series of schoolbooks were first published in the 1870s, and sold over five million copies over the years 1878–1881 alone; reprinted into the 1930s these and

other books under Nelson's 'Royal School' umbrella indicate the impact of the Nelson firm, and the endurance of older texts in the education system.[57] Nelson was in an advantageous position in the late nineteenth century; having established editorial guidelines which were designed to take into account the concerns of religious audiences also served the company well in publishing for the education market. Social improvement such as disarming 'the prejudice of the poor against hospitals' continued to be a concern for the company, and an objective for which it was believed that children's fiction was eminently suitable.[58] Nelson published works of children's fiction which were intended for mothers' meetings with this goal in mind, dedicating a section of the catalogue of new children's books for 1898–99 to this educational market, which combined Victorian religious philanthropy with social and medical schemes particularly aimed at the working classes.[59] In the same section of the catalogue the publisher also suggested that Catherine Laura Johnstone's adventure tale *The Young Emigrants: A Book for Boys* (Nelson, 1898) could be a valuable manual of information for boys contemplating emigration to Canada.[60] As a consequence of the firm's market focus, and being motivated by 'the evangelism of the educator',[61] Nelson came to specialise in a particular type of adventure tale, one which could be used for didactic purposes in a variety of settings. The importance of the education market for Nelson led to continued emphasis on the didactic properties and historically sound basis of the adventure tale, and the publisher worked closely with authors and illustrators to achieve the desired result also in new works in this genre; the emphasis on 'incident' was similarly useful in the educational climate of the late nineteenth century. Nelson's first success as a publisher with evangelical sympathies carried the firm into the twentieth century, and new generations of children continued to encounter Nelson's particular brand of adventure tale, in a variety of formats.

Notes

1 An English-born schoolteacher, Hayens's breakthrough as a writer came with his adventure tales published by Thomas Nelson. While he never achieved the popularity of a contemporary writer like G. A. Henty, Hayens's historical adventure tales – primarily published by Nelson up to 1904 – enjoyed considerable success around the turn of the century. From *c*. 1903, Hayens worked as a juvenile and educational editor for another Scottish publisher, Collins; he is credited with building that company's strong juvenile list partly through his own series of school stories: David Keir, *The House of Collins: The Story of a Scottish Family of Publishers from 1789 to the Present Day* (London: Collins, 1952), pp. 214–15.

2 Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library Centre for Research Collections, Papers of Thomas Nelson & Sons (hereafter 'Nelson Papers'), GEN1728/B [4 boxes author letters], Herbert Hayens, 29 November 1894. *Under the Lone Star* was published by Nelson in 1896[5]. I am grateful to the Centre for Research Collections and the University of Edinburgh for permission to quote from material in the Nelson Papers.

3 The journals included the *Schoolmaster, School Board Chronicle, Journal of Education, Practical Teacher, Educational Review, School Guardian,* and the *Educational Times*, Nelson Papers, GEN1728/34, memo, 20 October 1896.

4 Following the findings of the Schools Inquiry Commission (also known as the Taunton Commission) (1864–67), a series of Education Acts were implemented in Britain between 1870 and 1899: the Education Act 1870 governed England and Wales, and was followed by the Education (Scotland) in 1872. The Acts established for the first time a system of state-provided primary education, extended the years of mandatory schooling, and enforced attendance. For a timeline of Collins's expansion in educational publishing, see Keir, p. 214. For diversification from educational publishing to children's books, see Jane Potter, 'Children's Books', in *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland Volume 4: Professionalism and Diversity*, 1880–2000, eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 352–67.

5 See, for example, Padmini Ray Murray, 'Religion' and 'Education' in *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 3: Ambition and Industry, 1800–80*, ed. Bill Bell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2007), pp. 287–95 and pp. 324–30. For the influence of religion and education on Scottish writing for children, and the role of Scottish publishers, see, for example, Stuart Hannabuss, 'Scotland' in *The International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, ed. Peter Hunt (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 688–91; Stuart Hannabuss, 'Provincial Themes in Early Children's Books', *Bibliotheck*, 20 (1985): pp. 31–54; Potter, pp. 352–67.

6 In stereotyping, a whole page of type is cast from a mould and used for printing instead of the original. Following this process, printing became less expensive, as the type was set only once, requiring less labour and time. Stereotype plates also facilitated printing further editions.

7 Sir Daniel Wilson, *William Nelson: A Memoir* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1889), p. 20. However, there is not necessarily any causation between cheap print and the use of technological methods such as stereotype: see, for example, Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 38.

8 'Messrs. Nelsons' Publications', *The Bookseller,* 60 (31 December 1862): 964–65. For an analysis of Nelson as a religiously motivated firm, see John Dempster, 'Thomas Nelson & Sons in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Study in Motivation. Part 1', *Publishing History*, 13 (1983): 41–86; and John Dempster, 'Thomas Nelson & Sons in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Study in Motivation. Part 2', *Publishing History*, 14 (1983): 5–63.
9 Examples are: Anon., *The Barren Apple-Tree* (Edinburgh, London, and New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1845); Anon., *The Good Shepherd*, (Edinburgh, London, and New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1845).
10 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/47, 'G. M. B. letters 1906', *New Books 1898–99*, catalogue.
11 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/B [4 boxes author letters], 17 July 1893.
12 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/B [4 boxes author letters], n.d. TS referring to Stables's 'Crimean tale'.
13 For an examination of the effectiveness of countering the influence of penny dreadfuls through the school system, see Anna Vaninskaya, 'Learning to Read Trash: Late-Victorian Schools and the Penny Dreadful', in *The History of Reading Volume 2: Evidence from the British Isles, c. 1750–1950*, eds. Katie Halsey and W. R. Owens (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 68–83.
14 Edward G. Salmon, 'What Boys Read', *Fortnightly Review*, 39:230 (1886), p. 251; Edward G. Salmon, 'What the Working Classes Read', *Nineteenth Century,* 20:113 (1886), p. 117.
15 For an analysis of the attitude of religious publishing organisations to fiction, see Aileen Fyfe, *Science and Salvation: Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004). For the use of fiction by popular education publishers such as William Chambers, see also Fyfe (2012), pp. 151–52.
16 Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (London: Henry J. Drane, 1888), pp. 56–58.
17 'Coming Men: Mr. Herbert Hayens, Author', *Practical Teacher*, 18.8. (1898), 397–98 (p. 397).
18 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G. M. B. Letters 1895', Jane Borthwick, 26 October 1895; 30 December 1895.
19 The Nelson family first belonged to the Church of Scotland, but after the Disruption of 1843, they joined the newly established Free Church of Scotland. In the latter half of the nineteenth century Nelson made formal publishing arrangements with both the Free Church and other religious organisations for periodicals and hymnals. Nelson's principal publishers' readers in the late nineteenth century were the hymn writer Jane Borthwick (1813–1897) and Jane N. Macgregor (c. 1860–?). Despite the strict adherence to editorial guidelines requiring the readers to accept only manuscripts with so-called moral 'tendency', and despite both readers coming from Free Church backgrounds and having been recruited from among the Nelson family's church acquaintances, Macgregor exhibited a more liberal attitude to children's books than Borthwick did; in her final years as a Nelson editor Borthwick several times referred to her advanced age as an impediment to giving a manuscript a fair evaluation: Anne Marie Hagen, 'Thomas Nelson & Sons and Their Publisher's Readers in the 1890s: Change and Continuity in Juvenile Publishing', *Publishing History*, 73 (2013): 57–79 (p. 69).
20 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/47 'G. M. B. Letters 1906', *New Books 1898–1899*.
21 For a similar emphasis on historical facts, see also the review quotes for Evelyn Everett-Green's works in Nelson's 'Library of Historical Tales', advertised in *A Daughter of France*, by Eliza F. Pollard (Edinburgh, London, New York: Nelson, 1900), and the publisher's

blurb for *No Cross, No Crown* in Nelson's 'Living to Purpose Series', advertised in *Arthur Erskine's Story: A Tale of the Days of Knox,* by Deborah Alcock (Edinburgh, London, New York: Nelson, 1893).

22 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/29, 'G.M.B. Letters 1893', J. Borthwick, 13 June 1893.

23 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', J. Macgregor, 4 February 1895.

24 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', J. Borthwick, 13 December 1895.

25 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', H. Hayens to G.M. Brown, 27 February 1895.

26 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/36, 'G.M.B. Letters 1896', H. Hayens, 26 December 1896). The book was reissued in 1898 as *The British Legion: A Tale of the Carlist Wars*, but no map is included in this edition. It has not been possible to examine *Soldiers of the Legion*.

27 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', G. Stables, 25 January 1895. The 1896 Nelson edition included four maps and six illustrations by A. Pearce. The maps were precisely as the author had specified in his letter to the publisher.

28 Gordon Stables, *How Jack Mackenzie Won His Epaulettes: A Story of the Crimean War* (Edinburgh, London, New York: Nelson, 1896), p. 296.

29 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/34, 'G.M.B. Letters 1896', G. M. Brown, 17 December 1896.

30 John Gunn, *Classroom Teaching and Management* (Edinburgh, London, New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1895), pp. 134–35.

31 Wal Paget's illustrations for the alphabet rhyme book *Our Children of the Empire* by Edward Shirley (Nelson, 1901) were also used in 'various schoolbooks' and deemed suitable for a new edition of Ballantyne's *Ungava* in 1901: Nelson Papers, GEN1728/37, 'Letter Book 1901–1903', G. M. Brown to Mr Graham, 8 July 1903.

32 See, for example, Crane, Ralph and Lisa Fletcher, 'Picturing the Empire in India: Illustrating Henty', *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, 55.2 (2012): 155–75 (p. 159). Crane and Fletcher focus on creative decisions of the autonomous artist.

33 For an account of how action, movement and dynamic composition as well as the factual role of illustrations were valued in Victorian juvenile and popular periodicals, and in the daily press, see Crane and Fletcher, p. 157.

34 For information on G. A. Henty as a source of similar source material for the Glasgow publisher Blackie, see Dennis Butts, 'Exploiting a Formula: The Adventure Stories of G. A. Henty (1832–1902)' in *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, eds. Julia Briggs, Dennis Butts and Matthew Grenby (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 149–63 (p. 159).

35 The *Royal Prince Reader* no. 5 (Nelson, 1903) included lessons such as 'The Storm', taken from *Peter Simple* by Captain Marryat, 'The Pup's First Lesson' from *The Dog Crusoe: A Tale of the Western Prairies* (Nelson, 1861[1860]), and 'A White Bear' from *Ungava: A Tale of Esquimaux-Land* (Nelson, 1858), both by R. M. Ballantyne.

36 For the list of works consulted, see Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', J. Macgregor to G.M. Brown, 1 January 1896.

37 In a sample study of English Literature readers, half of the nineteenth-century novels used for excerpts or abridgements were historical novels: Anna Vaninskaya, 'English Literature' in 'What the Victorians Learned: Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Schoolbooks', ed. Leslie Howsam, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 12.2 (2007), pp. 276–80 (p. 279).

38 Quoted in William Henry Hadow, *Books in Elementary Schools. Report of the Consultative Committee.* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1928), p. 10.

39 Stephen Heathorn, '"Let Us Remember That We, Too, Are English": Constructions of Citizenship and National Identity in English Elementary School Reading Books, 1880–1914', *Journal of Victorian Studies* 38.3 (1995), 395–427 (p. 398). Three readers per elementary school Standard was the official requirement for England and Wales; two in Scotland. This made the market south of the border more valuable for Scottish publishers, a fact Nelson's educational editor J. Copland noted in regards to *Coral Island*'s value as a Reader, GEN1728/B [4 boxes author letters], 9 March 1894.

40 Examples of arguments of narrative convergences between adventure tales and schoolbooks, and of a causal effect between imperialism and education in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, can be found in Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: HarperCollinsAcademic, 1991), pp. 21 and 27, and in John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1860–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 174. Stephen Heathorn questions this causality between education and imperialism while affirming the focus on social cohesion in this period: *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender Class and Englishness in the Elementary School,* 1880–1914, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000). Similarly, Anna Vaninskaya has argued that in the case of English literature any promotion of patriotism was indirect, resulting from the formation of a literary canon, 'English Literature', pp. 276–77.

41 Heathorn (2000), pp. 48–49.

42 For example, Evelyn Everett-Green wrote lessons for book I and II of Nelson's new History series, which was built along the lines of Nelson's *Royal Crown* and *Royal Star* series: Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', Evelyn Everett-Green, 18 March 1895.

43 Jane Macgregor (c.1860–?) was born into a Free Church family (Dempster 'Part 2', p. 5); the family can be considered to have been relatively prominent within the church, as the men in the family were all ministers, and some of them held important ecclesiastical positions: Rev. William Ewing, D. D., *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland 1843–1900*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1914), p. 229. George Mackenzie Brown (1869–1946) was appointed managing director of the Nelson firm upon the death of his uncle, Thomas Nelson the younger, in 1892. Brown, the son of Anne Nelson and Canadian politician and *Toronto Globe* founder George Brown, followed in his father's footsteps as a politician and served as a Liberal Unionist MP for Edinburgh. See also note 19 for further information on the religious affiliations of the Nelson family and their staff.

44 The lessons in Nelson Readers were typically designed to be 170–300 words; see, for example, Nelson Papers, GEN1728/B [4 boxes author letters], G. Stables, 17 July 1893.

45 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', 22 February 1895.

46 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', J. Macgregor, 14 March 1895.

47 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', 30 January 1895.

48 Joseph Bristow also traces the inclusion of adventure tales in the curriculum to a Liberal education policy intent on teaching literature to working-class children who would, through this textual choice, gain some knowledge of English Literature, pp. 30–32. This mirrors the deliberations on language and pre-existing knowledge which featured in the editorial process at Nelson; whether this resulted from paternalistic attitudes or attempts at creating books based on the progressive child-centred pedagogies Nelson advocated through *The Practical Teacher* is still being debated.

49 For similar observations concerning adventure tales and pedagogy, see Stephen Heathorn (2000), pp. 98–99; Mackenzie, p. 180. Although Frank Hayward, perhaps the most well-known British Herbartian, was active mostly after 1900, Herbart's ideas were known in Britain before the turn of the century through, for example, the work of T. G. Rooper, *Apperception; or, The Essential Mental Operation in the Act of Learning* (Syracuse, N.Y.: C. W. Bardeen, 1891).
50 See, for example, Nelson Papers, GEN1728/B [4 boxes author letters], J. Macgregor, 11 December 1894.
51 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', J. Macgregor, 29 July 1895.
52 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', J. Macgregor, 30 January 1895.
53 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', J. Macgregor, 7 January 1895.
54 The 1842 Copyright Act allowed copyright for forty-two years after publication and for seven years after the author's death.
55 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/31, 'G.M.B. Letters 1895', J. Macgregor, 29 July 1895.
56 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/B [4 boxes author letters], R. M. Ballantyne, July 1893.
57 John Dempster, 'Part 1', p. 67.
58 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/47, 'G.M.B. letters 1906', Miss A. Lowndes, 4 March 1896.
59 F. K. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950 Volume 3: Social Agencies and Instituions*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 357–394 (p. 381).
60 Nelson Papers, GEN1728/35, 'G.M.B. Letters 1896', n.d. January 1896; Nelson Papers, GEN1728/47, 'G.M.B. Letters 1906', *Nelson Illustrated Descriptive List of New Books 1897–98*, pp. 30–31.
61 Alistair McCleery and Helen Williams, 'Nelson family (per. 1780–1958)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64902?docPos=2 [accessed 29 March 2012].

8. Symbolism and Empire: Stevenson, Scott, and Toy Soldiers

ADAM KOZACZKA

In 1901, a blend of patriotism and business acumen prompted William Britain's eponymous toy-making firm to release miniature versions of the Cameron Highlanders, then active in the Boer War (1899–1902). The realistic khaki paint scheme originally intended for Britain's 'Set 89' adhered to the toy soldier industry's meticulous devotion to verisimilitude, but was replaced before release by a wilfully inaccurate scheme featuring tartan. By this point an anachronism on the battlefield, tartan had been discontinued from active use and relegated to dress uniforms by practically-minded equipment reforms. Peter Johnson, the historian and toy soldiers expert, describes 'Set 89' as, 'incorrectly, but shrewdly,' satisfying consumers who had come to associate tartan with the Highland soldier: 'what boy would not prefer to have that square – that symbolic formation of British imperial steadfastness – in the colourful glories of old, instead of the modern drab uniforms of the 'new warfare'?'[1] By choosing 'colourful glories of old' over 'modern drab,' Britain's not only uses anachronism to sell toys, but also endorses a popular understanding of national history and current events for which inaccurate representation is preferable to weak iconography. From such a perspective, recognisable symbols evocative of national pathos are in fact more politically useful than the kind of scientific impartiality demanded by the historical establishment in 1901 (and arguably still today).[2] That this substitution was done specifically with Highlanders suggests that William Britain's firm had, whether consciously or not, arrived at that nexus of associations for which Scottish and masculine identities blended in a vibrant and violent past.[3] If 'Set 89' was a patriotic toy that relied on anachronism to lionise a now-utilitarian military establishment, then such simultaneously patriotic and commercially lucrative material rhetoric was made possible by a tradition of Scottish creative writing about history

that has been studied precisely according to its rhetorical deployment of anachronism.

Ever since Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), books set in Scotland's past have lamented the passing of masculine character types rendered as abler and nobler than the men of the reader's present. Despite Scott's apparent devotion to upholding the political establishment and its narratives of progress, his novels exhibited such fondness for the warlike masculinities of the past that contemporary reviewers warned against their possible influence on children who might admire memorable, but not all together good, characters.[4] Three-quarters of a century later, fictional Scots of the past were still being presented as more interesting and more genuine than the reader's real contemporaries. Though Robert Louis Stevenson's Alan Breck Stewart exaggerates his accomplishments while his Master of Ballantrae is 'neither bad nor very able'[5] their larger-than-life, romantic exploits – brushing shoulders with the heroes and villains of the '45 and even sailing with the pirate Blackbeard – construct a historical gender fantasy within the adventure novel. The men of the past are thus rendered not only more interesting but indeed more potent and self-motivated, albeit more violent, than the men of the reader's present. The violent flaws explicitly identified with Jacobite characters in Scott and Stevenson over time become advantages: the unruliness, the violence, and the rebellion associated with an earlier masculinity seem in practice to expand their purchase on masculine 'authenticity'. Stevenson liked the 'bad guys' of British literature and popular history, making clear that as a child he adored stories of eighteenth-century Jacobites almost as much as he did tales of eighteenth-century highwaymen.[6]

Walter Scott had a different political relationship with transgressive characters insofar as violence is presented unsympathetically in the Waverley novels. Characters he condemned, however, often went on to have afterlives in which their violent tendencies became laudable qualities. By the 1880s and 1890s, Scott's novels had been generically reclassified by a market in which their exciting historical plots made them appear to be of a type with the increasingly popular boys' adventure novel (see further Chapter Two in the present volume).[7] Theresa Michals sees violence in particular as having been reinterpreted by Victorian audiences: 'Scott may have intended violence

to appear immature or deplorable, but Victorian boys' fiction located in violence many of its excitements'.[8] Though Scott was 'manly reading' in the second two decades of the nineteenth century,[9] by the late Victorian period he had instead become a staple of children's literature that shared shelf space with Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, and H. Rider Haggard. *Kidnapped*'s (1886) Davie Balfour, *Kim*'s (1901) Kimball O'Hara, and *King Solomon's Mines*' (1885) Allan Quatermain did not scruple at the application of force or falsehood to achieve their victories, and this actually made them more the literary descendants of those characters Scott's politics would have condemned. Since their violent lifestyles are arguably impossible for the average reader, the vicarious enjoyments thus procured show a preference for the symbolic over the realistic. Though *Rob Roy*'s (1816) title character in the novel is, at best, a questionably sympathetic Scottish warrior tainted by petty criminality and an affinity for the wrong political faction, his afterlife on the popular stage expanded his role so much in adaptations and even original plays that he consistently upstaged Frank Osbaldistone, the novel's protagonist.[10] Rob Roy was more compelling to average playgoers than one of Scott's 'mediocre heroes', meaning that those popular rewritings that favoured him put value in symbolism and iconography and were not very interested in recreating the plot of Scott's novel or even the biography of Rob Roy the historical personage.

All of these literary moves suggest a popular and politically charged way of interpreting history for which exploring the past is a relatively simple matter of raising popular feeling by displaying larger-than-life characters representing excitements once possible, but no longer. 'Colourful glories of old' trump 'modern drab' in Britain's 'Set 89' because of a politically similar simplification: a personal and emotional investment in national history-as-iconography recognised and thus constructed emblematic rather than realistic Highlanders. Military and imperial toys shared in the factual and ethical uncertainties surrounding the presentation of Scottish heritage – not only in the sense of material culture's 'invention of tradition'[11] but also in the historical content of Scottish children's literature. The rapid nineteenth-century rise in the popularity and mass production of toy soldiers – first imported by savvy German and French manufacturers who worked

with British colonial themes, and eventually produced on British soil by companies such as Britain's that specialised in imperial toys – coincided with a likewise rising trend in imperial fiction for boys that admired the ruggedness associated with the exotic, whether it be found in distant lands or in the distant past.

Highlanders were not the only exotic masculinities represented on the miniature battlefield: late nineteenth-century children's material culture, like children's literature, was also invested in portraying ethnically and racially particular scenes from the overseas colonies. Such production corresponded with the variety of exotic scenes and characters present in Stevenson's work, from the quasi-historical novels set in Scotland to the seafaring adventures that brought their protagonists into contact with indigenous peoples and their ways of life. *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889) even manages to mix both of these areas of interest insofar as its Jacobite plot launches its characters into adventure in India and even the American colonies. On a political register, this shared emphasis points to what might be Stevenson's awareness of 'conjectural history's' role in the relationship between the past's Anglo-Scottish internal colonialism and the present's overseas colonialism. Just as the Highlander was presented as a figure once violent and unruly but, since, subjugated and harnessed by the British military establishment, so too were indigenous peoples in the late nineteenth century portrayed according to the promise of their potential future usefulness to the Empire. This chapter invokes conjectural history and Scottish Enlightenment-derived 'stadialism'[12] to suggest that Empire-themed children's literature and material culture attached the same level of unruliness, violence, and therefore masculine potency to the Highlanders of the past as they did to the warrior-cultures associated with some colonised peoples in the present. Not only does this popular mode of history elevate the symbolic over the realistic, it also shows an investment in rehearsing the process by which a dangerous Other can be defeated and then reclassified as a patriotic symbol of the colonial establishment. Together with boys' adventure fiction, military miniatures made colonialism into a form of play reliant on a symbolism-dominated imagination for which defeating the Other meant an iconic enshrining of colonial masculinity.

Miniaturised colonialism

Though he writes about an earlier period in British literary history, Willy Maley describes a kind of regionalisation of dissent; an inherently colonialist ideology more interested in Irish and Scottish 'questions' than in the 'British problem'. While this chapter has been discussing the culture of lauding Highlanders as hyper-masculine, early modernists writing about *Macbeth* and James VI and I's failed attempts at Union make clear a different, centuries-old tradition of stereotyping Scots as rebellious infighters with a tendency to regicide.[13] For colonialist epistemologies, rebellious and violent peoples were problems, but likewise promised future usefulness should the Other's warrior-spirit be broken and harnessed by the military establishment. Once a proscribed emblem of treason and fratricidal violence, tartan had by the early nineteenth century become recoded as meaning loyalty, manliness, and a 'colourful' ethnic particularity. Jacobitism was a popular topic for historical novels in the nineteenth century, and the romanticised image of the Scottish rebel became a staple in texts ranging from the Waverley novels to Stevenson's work in the boys' adventure genre.[14] All three major Stevenson novels with Jacobite plots – *Kidnapped*, *Catriona* (1893), and *The Master of Ballantrae* – show a Scott-like admiration for outdated identities that could be enjoyed because they no longer threatened British polity. The Jacobite cause was, of course, no longer a political possibility when Stevenson was writing, and so his occasional endorsements of Jacobite characters cannot be read as in any way treasonous. Stevenson has traditionally been perceived as adhering to a sort of ambivalent Jacobitism that viewed the conflict-filled eighteenth century as a two-part puzzle that required both Whig and Jacobite elements.[15] This is plainly visible in *The Master of Ballantrae*'s Durie brothers, and is so naturalised in the reading of *Kidnapped* that the current Penguin edition's back-matter makes clear that in 'the romantic Breck and the rationalist Whig David – Stevenson dramatized a conflict at the heart of Scottish culture in the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion'. When these novels appear to enter into Jacobite sympathies by implicitly and explicitly denouncing the Highland Clearances and other colonialist consequences of the Hanoverian accession, they call into question a politically oppressive establishment that has been gone for a century.

Pro-Stuart rhetoric in the late nineteenth century was not a politically genuine position, as argued by David McCrone, Angela Morris, and Richard Kiely when they discuss a parlour variety of Jacobitism more invested in colourful appearances than in resisting the established monarchy.[16] As the Jacobite threat became non-existent, the Scottish warrior ceased to frighten British polity and became a beloved national celebrity that since Waterloo and even earlier could be coded as an integral defender of the Empire. Stevenson, like Scott before him, was more interested not in the loyal Highlander of the present, but in exploring specifically the Jacobite past. I suggest that romanticising Scotland's past was a celebration of the dangerous ancestry of Jacobite rebellion, and that symbolic renderings of this dangerous ancestry were made to uphold much of the manly glamour associated with the Victorian period's contemporary Scottish soldier.

In her study of 'martial race discourse' in the British military establishment, Heather Streets identifies a process that began with Scottish Highlanders and continued on to stereotype Sikhs, Gurkhas, and other 'martial races' that were considered to be 'a cut above ordinary soldiers.'[17] Streets argues that popular culture and the news media tended to play up the valour and splendour of soldiers identified with these 'martial races.' The Highlander is for martial race discourse the prototype of a colonialist process that would later emblematically valorise the warrior-cultures of indigenous peoples in much the way it initially constructed kilted Scots as nearly super-human warriors.[18] At first an enemy of Britain, the manly, violent Other is admired but feared. Once he is defeated by force of arms, he can be superficialised through the popularisation of his ethnic dress and culture, and ultimately enlisted as a highly recognisable special member of the very army that defeated him in the first place. The distinctive, frequently culturally specific attire of ethnically non-English regiments – like the turbans and other orientalistically-stylised accoutrements of the native soldier or the tartan and kilt of the Highlander – testify that the Empire has literally stolen the Other's clothes before returning them to him in the form of a spectacular and exotic military uniform. Ian Duncan writes 'of a distinctively modern kind of national subjectivity, in which the knowledge of our alienation from authentic cultural identities accompanies our privileged

repossession of them as aesthetic effects'.[19] Duncan's articulation emphasises the privilege that underpins the process of replacing a complex identity with an intriguing costume or set of artefacts. The soldier's ethnically particularised uniform signifies the military ability assumed to stem from the warrior legacy associated with his racio-ethnic background. This process is likewise a staple of imperial adventure fiction: to name just two examples, Kipling's *Kim* is full of references to the unusual ability of warriors from the Punjab, from Afghanistan, and from the Jat region of India, while Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* marvels at the combative prowess and sheer size of the fictionalised, though explicitly Zulu-like, Kukuana tribe.[20] Don Randall notes that what has been known by literary scholars as the 'golden age of children's literature' chronologically coincides with what historians refer to as the 'Age of Empire': he writes that, 'an imperial inflection in writing for children is most consistently in evidence, and most troubling, with respect to the perspectives on cultural others that it offers, and the understanding and response that its readers learn to bring to such encounters with others'.[21]

Highlander figures were incredibly popular in the toy soldier market, but so too were figures representing indigenous warriors from overseas colonies. Among the most popular in the last decades of the nineteenth century were miniature Zulus in glossy black paint and with frequently exaggerated features. Also significant were exotic sets representing native divisions in colonial armies, such as Britain's West India Regiment, reported as being striking for its 'jet black faces marked by staring eyes' when exhibited at the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897.[22] Regional particularity on display brings to mind imperial atlases, exhibitions, or pageants, their margins, galleries, and stages respectively crammed with figures whose appearances corresponded with what were then perceived to be the racial and cultural traits that typified each region under British Dominion. Walter Crane's well-known marginal illustrations for *Imperial Federation, Map of the World Showing the Extent of the British Empire in 1886* (1886) are perhaps the most famous examples of such often-reproduced images which represent distance according to ethnic particularity. Other examples include illustrations and staged displays of Britannia surrounded by representatives of the peoples

of Empire, and such images frequently featured Highlanders. The cover illustration for an 1867 issue of Charles Stevens' children's periodical, *The Boys' Book of Romance*, contained a graphic heading with the title 'Sons of Britannia' that portrayed Britannia surrounded by boys dressed as differently classed military personnel. Containing a little Highlander, this image traces a miniaturised sense of colonialism for which the Empire was a matrix of relatively simple, iconic identities that each contributed to colonial expansion with its martial prowess while testifying to the all-encompassing quality of the political body that reigned over all.

The fanciful child-soldiers in the illustration, like toy soldiers, present a sanitised view of warfare and arguably do not engage with questions of imperial exploitation. Graham Dawson, primarily interested in the cultural endorsement of the 'soldier-hero', directly refers to 'the imperialist imaginings that accompanied play', and points out that the late nineteenth-century explosion in 'toys on British Empire themes is clearly related to the tradition of imperial adventure'.[23] Toys, for Dawson, inform and are informed by the literary culture of Empire, glorify the imperial hero in his overseas theatre of action, and establish what he calls the 'pleasure-culture of war'.[24] When discussing specifically the history of toy soldiers, Johnson makes clear the nationalistic stakes involved in the production of Empire-themed toys on British soil, drawing attention not only to how the toys looked, but also to the ubiquity of labels that made clear such toys were made in Britain.[25] The very fact of William Britain's last name, Johnson notes, was a marketing advantage that linked the company with the patriotic fervour associated with the buying of pro-British toys and memorabilia: 'the name of Britain, a trump card in the chauvinistic Victorian commercial game'.[26] Toy soldiers arguably participated in that popular imperial fantasy acted out in the consumer-oriented ways of seeing that Anne McClintock associates with Victorian exhibitions in *Imperial Leather* (1995).

To collect or play with toy soldiers was to invest in Empire; it was also to sanitise Victorian Britain's violent and repressive overseas wars into bloodless struggles between models. As a material object the toy soldier has built into it a politically useful tension between the violence it symbolises and its inherent harmlessness (just as in a children's adventure story, violent

scenes can omit the most traumatic details and remain exciting without raising any moral quandaries). The novels read by children discussed in this chapter show a similar unwillingness to engage in detail with that most tragic event in the history of Anglo-Scottish relations, the battle of Culloden (1746). Culloden is nearly invisible in Scott's fiction, and despite the passing of much of the nineteenth century, Stevenson seems equally unwilling to explore this site of national trauma. The memory of Highlanders slaughtered by a Union-enforcing British army is considerably problematic for a readership invested in mythologising those Highlanders and associating them with the loyal Highland regiments of the nineteenth century. This desire to evade the Union-jeopardising bloodshed of Culloden not only figures in novels like *Waverley*, more invested in the build-up to the '45, or *Kidnapped*, more invested in the Appin murder and more generally in the adventures of already dispossessed Jacobites, but also in children's material culture of the nineteenth century. James Opie notes that despite the popularity of toy Highland regiments, there is no evidence of children re-enacting Culloden in the nineteenth century, and that there were certainly no sets manufactured for this purpose.[27] Just as in the historical form, children's material culture prefers the superficial elements of the defeated and now-loyal Highlanders to any politically meaningful reference to a failed struggle for independence that had been so brutally suppressed.

The British adventurer's boyish face

Toy soldier manufacture tended to be timely: the period between the Crimean War (1853–55) and the First World War (1914–18) saw more than forty overseas colonial conflicts, and new wars and expeditions meant new miniatures. Johnson makes clear that exigency was a primary selling point, meaning that new sets of toy soldiers would arrive on the market hot on the heels of emergent colonial wars and expeditions.[28] Decades prior to the Britain company's 1893 entrance into the toy soldier market, the German toymaker Heyde was highly successful in cornering British demand for miniatures of all stripes, and Johnson makes clear that much of Heyde's success was owed to a deliberate focus on colonial scenes especially of the Raj variety.[29] In addition to military toys, Heyde's top-sellers included civilian

scenes from colonial life, most notably tiger-hunting sets and plantation life sets that featured hierarchised arrangements of miniatures representing white masters surrounded by their 'native' servants and also by exotic animals. The educational aspect of play here takes on an ideologically imperial slant. This is not to suggest any kind of patriotic conspiracy between the authors of children's literature and the manufacturers of military miniatures but rather to point to the existence of an immersive experience of playing with imperial toys and reading boys' adventure novels that worked much like Hurree Babu's memory game in *Kim* – the child at play with exotic objects learned to classify them according to ethnic and regional particularity. Play is an educational strategy that expands the child's gaze both into a British past fraught by national conflicts and onto an overseas colonial landscape presented as teeming with colourful symbols.

Even at the simplest level, the Imperial notion of play involves an expansive project that encounters, examines, and then superficialises exotic details destined to be captured by the Victorian impulse to record and classify. Even the simplest toys, especially for Stevenson, were avenues toward enchantment with the exotic and otherwise hopelessly distant; they facilitated escape from the monotony of everyday life. In 'The Swing,' from *A Child's Garden of Verses* (1885), Stevenson describes the vision-expanding pleasures afforded by this ubiquitous playground accessory:

> Up in the air and over the wall,
> Till I can see so wide,
> River and trees and cattle and all
> Over the countryside –
> Till I look down on the garden green,
> Down on the roof so brown –
> Up in the air I go flying again,
> Up in the air and down! (44)

Though the, 'River and trees and cattle and all,' of the poem's 'countryside' is clearly a scene from a location within Scotland, if not Britain, the poem transmits a sense of gaze-expanding play. The toy allows the child-speaker

to transcend his or her surroundings, symbolically enclosed by the 'wall' of the domestic. 'The Dumb Soldier' contains a limerick-like narrative in which a child buries a toy grenadier in a garden for a considerable span of time. The child-speaker then muses about what the toy has seen and heard, eventually lamenting that the miniature shall not – or cannot – tell. 'The Dumb Soldier' follows the familiar fantasy that comes of wondering what our things see and do when we are not watching them. In the process of illustrating this fantasy, Stevenson's poem forges the simple link between children's material culture and children's literature: the poem's toy soldier is the timeless icon steering narrative fictions. As the speaker contemplates how the soldier experienced the passing of time, travel and the exotic inflect his wonder at the unobservable:

> He has lived, a little thing,
> In the grassy woods of spring;
> Done, if he could tell me true,
> Just as I should like to do.
> He has seen the starry hours
> And the springing of the flowers;
> And the fairy things that pass
> In the forests of the grass. (*Garden* 85)

Like 'The Swing,' this poem blends the domestic with the distant and exotic: though the soldier is buried in a spot presumably quite near home, the play involved in burying him and in dreaming of his fate is itself a sort of travel that brings the speaker nearer to imaginary places and events.

Other poems in the collection promulgate the vicarious wonder inspired by colonial travel and exploration, exemplified by titles such as 'Where Go the Boats', 'The Sun's Travels', 'Foreign Lands', and 'My Ship and I'. The content of these poems, moreover, emphasises the frequently dream-forged link between the domestic commonplaces of a British childhood and the potential for play suggested by the colonies. 'My Bed is a Boat', and 'Escape at Bedtime', for instance, tap into the childhood fantasy of being carried by dreams – domestic bed and all – into foreign lands: 'I shut my eyes and sail

away' (42). The poems also engage with real destinations: 'Travel' follows the make-believe all the way to China, Egypt, and to, 'Where in jungles near and far,/ Man-devouring tigers are', while 'Pirate Story' describes children role-playing pirates in a British meadow, making up their minds as to,

> Where shall we adventure, today that we're afloat,
> Wary of the weather and steering by a star?
> Shall it be to Africa, a-steering of the boat,
> To Providence, or Babylon or off to Malabar? (13)

For Jean Webb, '[Stevenson's] numerous references […] to kings and soldiers, the foreignness and 'otherness' of places named, such as Africa or Malabar, catch both Stevenson's own desire and interest in travel, and also the spirit of exploration of the 1890s.'[30] Ann C. Colley's reading of the same poems suggests they bridge the gap between the unexciting home space and the promise offered by colonial adventure.[31] Colley discusses mirrors and windows, reading Stevenson's child as gaining access to faraway lands by looking out from within the childhood space that otherwise confines him. There is a sense of safety and control that such perspectives impart to child readers, especially since the act of seeing is rendered as one-way: the exotic cannot, in essence, look back upon the subject.[32]

Such a conceptual model seeks to organise the imagination according to the one-way pleasures of vicarious adventure that appear inherent to reading about exotic ethnicities or playing with military miniatures. Could the symbol-erecting politics behind imperial and military toys, so like those visible in boys' adventure novels, function ideologically to inform children who would grow into future agents of Empire? Tiger-hunting sets were among the most popular ever produced and exported at first by Heyde and later by Britain's, and the child-owners of such toys were in essence also owning the colonial landscapes, exotic animals, and racialistically rendered 'natives' that came in the box. It is perhaps ideologically anachronistic to argue that such modes of play somehow *should* have included options for two-way dialogue with subjugated populations, but it is an unmistakable fact of both the poems and the toys that the child is in a position of safety

and ownership over a literary or material scene representing a foreign way of life. Such politics are even more pronounced in specifically military sets.[33] The Zulu War (1879) was an occasion for the production of toy soldiers representing the British regiments active in the conflict that along with their Zulu opponents remained among the most iconic and oft-manufactured military miniatures well into the twentieth century. Not only are miniature Zulus of particular interest to the postcolonial scholar in light of their highly stylised racial rendering, they also tended to be packaged along with physical features of the South African landscape. To buy, for instance, Britain's *A Zulu Kraal (Native Village*) set was to purchase not only Zulu warriors, but also an assortment of 'Zulu' huts and even some tropical trees to add scenery for display and perhaps even objectives for war-gaming. *A Zulu Kraal (Native Village)* was produced in 1906 and shared the shelves with another Britain's set, *Africa's Savage Warriors: Zulus*, which indicated through its name the racialist politics that informed and was informed by toy soldier production. Even the packaging of these toys constructed a sort of picturesque in which the miniature spectacle blended the potency of the 'martial race' with the exoticism of its natural surroundings. The physical features of southern Africa and elsewhere fascinated more than one generation of British boys, and it is no wonder that the fictions of Stevenson and of other children's authors were so deeply invested in describing and indeed in owning colonial landscapes.

Whereas there were some female figures on the market – some plantation sets came with female slaves or servants, classical antiquity-themed sets by the French manufacturer Mignot contained the occasional female miniature, and later sets from Britain's included female nurses and members of the ambulance corps – the vast majority did not, and presented a miniaturised world much in keeping with the kind of 'rugged' ideology that might cause Allan Quatermain to suggest that the bush was no place for a woman.[34] Drawing on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Elaine Showalter, John Tosh studies masculinities in nineteenth-century Britain and makes clear the waning emphases on domesticity and family in late Victorian writing. He argues that the values of the domestic are replaced by a greater

emphasis on the bachelor's potential to be a hero while living abroad as an unattached imperial adventurer.[35] Such narratives of development appear in Stevenson's work, and novelise an education that takes the child-protagonist exploring while raising him into an agent of Empire. Bradley Deane has asserted that there is an essential linkage between colonialism and the tendency for authors to select if not boy-heroes, then adult heroes who have 'boyish' traits. Mentioning Stevenson alongside Kitchener, Kipling, Rhodes, and Conrad, Deane writes that 'reimagined in the pages of imperial romance, the frontier became crowded with youthful men and heroic adolescents, while the novels are themselves increasingly aimed at a male audience whose age was explicitly blurred'.[36] Deane also refers to how widely read these 'children's' novels were outside of the nursery, suggesting at once an adult fascination with the fantasies of imperial childhood and the child reader's easy aspiration toward adult possibilities in the theatre of Empire.[37]

The most useful imperial men, in other words, were boys, or at least had access to that adventurous spirit commonly associated at once with the young and with great explorers. Stevenson's most direct attempt at theorising the dividing line between the child and the adult was arguably his essay, 'Crabbed Age and Youth' (1877). Stevenson opens by admiring Icarus while reviling 'Mr. Samuel Budget' in keeping with the preference for the symbolic and romantic explored by the present chapter and goes on to describe the painful process of being shamed by his peers and elders to give up childish things. The speaker in 'Crabbed Age,' presumably Stevenson himself, recalls most fondly his hours of play with 'lead soldiers' and finds them the most difficult childish things to put away. There is a sense in which Stevenson followed in the footsteps of his seafaring characters by leaving Scotland to immerse himself in the distant lands his fictions made vicariously available to large populations of children. Stevenson wrote of his intention to 'retire and shut myself up among my playthings until the day I die', and it is a perhaps uncomfortable fact of his fiction that foreign lands were among his 'playthings'. At the very end of 'The Dumb Soldier,' the speaker muses on his inability to learn exactly what happened to the buried toy soldier.

This is not a sorrowful moment, but a happy, creative one: 'I shall lay him on my shelf / And take up the tale myself'. Not only has the toy soldier become an icon on display, it has become the impetus behind the future writer's creativity. For Stevenson, play and travel are different aspects of the same reach for spaces beyond the domestic, and the result of such activity is not only patriotic ownership and display of national symbols, but also the impulse to write Empire.

Notes

1 Peter Johnson, *Toy Armies* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1981), pp. 44–45.

2 A history is only a history in the modern sense if it has a scientific quality; if it appears to examine *evidence* pertaining to the actions of human beings. Such foundational associations are spelled out by R. G. Collingwood who associates the Victorian period with a rise in scientific historicism. He explains that though many ideas essential to modern history – such as stadialism – are solidified in the Enlightenment and Romantic period, it is not until Marx and Hegel's ideas influence positivism that history became primarily about natural science. Even then, the Positivists had what Collingwood called a 'superficial notion' of natural science in mind, so the incorporation of scientific epistemologies into history is a gradual process that by Stevenson's day has become universally accepted: R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, rev ed., edited by Jan van der Dussen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 86–126; 134–65.

3 Studies such as Maureen M. Martin's *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender, and the Nineteenth-century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009) or Christopher Whyte's essay collection, *Gendering the Nation: Studies in Modern Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), study a series of associations between Scottishness and a sort of primitive and therefore authentic masculinity. Though the present chapter is deeply invested in the 'invention of tradition' conversation (see below) and questions of children's material culture, it likewise aims to contribute to the study of masculinity in nineteenth-century Scottish and British literature by examining some of the child's earliest encounters with formative gender politics.

4 Teresa Michals, *Books for Children, Books for Adults* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 114–15.

5 All subsequent parenthetical in-text page references are to the following editions of Stevenson's work: Robert Louis Stevenson, *Kidnapped* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1994); *The Master of Ballantrae* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1996); *A Child's Garden of Verses* (New York, 1913), Medallion edition; 'Crabbed Age and Youth' [1877], *Crabbed Age & Youth, & Other Essays* (Portland: T. B. Mosher, 1907), pp. 3–35.

6 Alison Lumsden, 'Stevenson, Scott, and Scottish History', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. Penny Fielding (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 72.

7 Among the scholars who have drawn attention to this shift are Bruce Beiderwell and Anne McCormick, 'The Making and Unmaking of a Children's Classic: the Case of Scott's *Ivanhoe*', *Culturing the Child, 1690–1914*, edited by Donelle Rowe (Oxford: Scarecrow

Press, 2005), pp. 165–78; and Michals, *Books for Children*. Beiderwell and McCormick draw attention to how less than a decade after Scott's death in 1832, his literary reputation had substantially diminished in the face of attacks from major critics and novelists that endured into the twentieth century (pp. 166–67). Beiderwell and McCormick, and Michals each argue that the Waverley novels were reclassified as boys' adventure stories when that genre gained market ascendency in the late nineteenth century. Also of interest is Scott's reception in other countries, where he tended to be received as an author for children. One of many scholars who write about Scott abroad, Martin Prochazka explains that the Great Unknown, initially received by Czechs as a poet, became popular as a novelist later on when he influenced a tradition of boys' adventure writing: 'From Romantic Folklorism to Children's Adventure Fiction: Walter Scott in Czech Culture', in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. Murray Pittock (London: Continuum, 2006).

8 Michals, p. 101.

9 Ina Ferris famously argues that at the end of the eighteenth century, 'the perception that the novel was a female field was well entrenched', and that Walter Scott's Waverley novels 'intervene' by making the reading of novels into a socially acceptable practice for men (*The Achievement of Literature Authority* (London: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 35; 79–94). Ian Duncan approaches from a different direction in his *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), arguing that Scott and later Dickens laid the foundations for the legitimacy of the novel as a national literature that fed into the Victorian cult of the great man as author.

10 Ann Rigney notes the process by which nearly a thousand adaptations of *Rob Roy* have tended to be primarily about the title character (*The Afterlives of Walter Scott* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 65–70). In the actual novel, Rob Roy is an important character, but he does not appear in many scenes. When praising Scott in 1838, Lord Edward Bulwer-Lytton explains that "In the novel, you see more of Frank Osbaldistone than you do of Rob Roy; but bring Rob Roy on the stage, and Frank Osbaldistone must recede at once into a fifth-rate personage" (*On Art in Fiction. The Monthly Chronicle.* Vol 1 (1838), p. 31). Whereas Bulwer-Lytton has a stagecraft-related explanation for this – the stage is a different mode of address than is prose, and thus requires, 'more rapid effects, broader and more popular sentiments, more condensed grasp of the universal passions' (p. 31) – he also here suggests that spectacular figures on display have a greater purchase on the popular imagination than moralising novels.

11 In Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Hugh Trevor-Roper's 'The Invention of Highland Tradition' sparked an ongoing debate as to the authenticity of Highland material culture, especially in the case of tartan and its familial and historical associations. More recent voices in this discussion include *From Tartan to Tartanry*, ed. Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760–1860* (Columbus, Ohio : Ohio State University Press, 2007); Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Each of these texts, in different ways, approaches a history of popularising Scottish material culture, and in many cases literature as well, much longer and broader than the simple and arguably anglocentric 'invention' imagined by Trevor-Roper and Hobsbawm.

12 By 'conjectural history', I invoke a conceptual model of history in which human development is broken into different 'stages' (hence 'stadialism'). This means that some nations advance more quickly than others, and that different nations coexisting in the same time period may actually inhabit different 'stages' of human development. Solidified by Dugald Stewart in his late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century popularisation of Scottish Enlightenment ideas, this concept is originally drawn from work by Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, John Millar, Henry Home (Lord Kames), and David Hume, influencing later thinkers like Marx and Hegel.
13 Willy Maley, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 9–11. Scholars like Maley, Andrew Murphy, and John Kerrigan explore internal colonialism as it was conceived and enacted before the eighteenth century.
14 By moving from Scott to Stevenson, I do not mean to oversimplify a history of writing about Highland and Jacobite themes in the nineteenth century. In Scott's own time, Christian Isobel Johnstone, Jane Porter, and other early writers of historical novels and national tales glorified the history of Scotland. Later, authors such as Margaret Oliphant returned to the theme. This list is, of course, not exhaustive, and moreover omits poets such as James Hogg whose verses did much to popularise the myth of the rugged and warlike Highlander.
15 Writing in 1968, Joseph J. Egan is already referring to a tradition of scholarship that views Stevenson's understanding of the eighteenth century as half-Whig and half-Jacobite: 'From History to Myth: A Symbolic Reading of *The Master of Ballantrae*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900,* 8:4 (1968): 699–710.
16 David McCrone, Angela Morris, and Richard Kiely (eds), *Scotland – The Brand* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), a significant intervention in the 'invention of tradition' debate.
17 Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 56–57.
18 Ibid. pp. 62–80.
19 Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow. The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 98.
20 Renowned for their warrior-culture, the Kukuana speak a dialect similar to the Zulu language, and are described by comparison to the Zulus.
21 Don Randall, 'Empire and Children's Literature: Changing Patterns of Cross-Cultural Perspective', *Children's Literature in Education*, 41 (2010): 28–39.
22 Johnson, p. 43.
23 Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 235, 237.
24 Ibid., p. 245.
25 Johnson, pp. 39–40.
26 Ibid., p. 38.
27 Email communication from James Opie to the author: 'Re: Academic Question Regarding Miniature Highlanders', 6 June 2014.
28 Johnson, p. 43.
29 Ibid., p. 35.

30 Jean Webb, 'Conceptualizing Childhood: Robert Louis Stevenson's *A Child's Garden of Verses*', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 32.3 (2002): 359–365 (pp. 364–69).
31 Ann C. Colley, 'Bodies and Mirrors: The Childhood Interiors of Ruskin, Pater, and Stevenson', in *Domestic Space. Reading the Nineteenth Century Interior*, ed. Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 40–57 (pp. 43–44).
32 Ibid., p. 49.
33 Though the pages of imperial adventure fiction do not always gravitate toward explicitly military protagonists, Streets makes clear that the news media did, and that close links between the officer corps and the various arms of the media-producing and -disseminating establishment also led to the glorification of the soldier (p. 117).
34 My list of female miniatures is by no means exhaustive. There were various civilian life sets that included women, and occasional women in uniform such as girl scouts (produced in the twentieth century) and even female members of the RAF. My main point, however, is to indicate that the visibility of female bodies cast in lead was considerably limited when compared to their more prominent male counterparts – to play with toy soldiers tended to be a matter of playing with miniature men.
35 John Tosh discusses this in *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), and draws on similar articulations in Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990) and Showalter's *Sexual Anarchy* (1991).
36 Bradley Deane, 'Imperial Boyhood: Piracy and the Play Ethic', *Victorian Studies,* 53.4 (2011): 689–714 (p. 689).
37 Michals makes clear that in the nineteenth century, many novels were read by both children and adults, and that the formation of separate children's and adult reading categories was a product of a gradual process (pp. 1–2). The term 'mixed readership' describes an audience that included both children and adults; different periods considered maturity differently.

9. The Darkening Island: Stevenson, Barrie, and the Perils of Childhood

TIMOTHY S. HAYES

> I decided to take the literary convention of boys on an island, only make them real boys instead of paper cutouts with no life in them.
>
> William Golding, 'Fable'[1]

> There was little sound to be heard but the clang of weapons, an occasional screech or splash, and Slightly monotonously counting—five—six—seven—eight—nine—ten—eleven.
>
> J. M. Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*[2]

In 1954, William Golding published his iconic work *Lord of the Flies*, a tale of the nightmarish outcome of a group of boys who were stranded on an island. Scarred by his personal experience of World War Two and deeply troubled by his knowledge of the Nazis' unconscionable acts, Golding sought to offer what he considered to be a realistic, twentieth-century portrayal as a correction to R. M. Ballantyne's equally iconic – and innocent – portrayal of 'boys on an island' in *The Coral Island* (1858). But Golding's novel was not the first iconic work to reimagine Ballantyne's work. Indeed, two of the most enduring works of children's literature by Scottish authors, Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) and J. M. Barrie's *Peter and Wendy* (his 1911 novelisation of his 1904 play), reinvent Ballantyne's work in fascinating ways. While neither work features shipwrecked children on an island, both show adolescent and child characters in perilous circumstances and even endangering others. In doing so, both authors seek to make the violence and danger of their tales more realistic than Ballantyne's. But they also struggle to balance that impulse toward believability with the demands of Victorian children's literature, where actual violence cannot be visited on child and adolescent protagonists.[3] In looking closer at multiple

incarnations of both works – specifically the substantial revisions Stevenson made between the serialised version and book version of *Treasure Island* and the differences between the earliest performances of Barrie's *Peter Pan* and his later novelisation of the story – we can see a complicated effort to balance romance and realism in a successful and believable way for child and adult readers alike. And, as we do, we can connect the efforts of these two celebrated authors with the larger debate that dominated Scottish literature as a whole from the 1890s through the middle of the twentieth century, sparked by laments about the 'Kailyard' portrayals of Scotland by even Barrie himself that would eventually lead to Hugh MacDiarmid's Scottish Renaissance.[4]

Especially in its own time, Ballantyne's novel *The Coral Island* was a unique and significant accomplishment within a familiar and popular tradition. Clearly written in the form of a Robinsonade, a story that places its main characters on a deserted island in the style of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, Ballantyne's novel featured a key change from previous versions of this genre, one that would influence the development of children's literature for decades to come. As Minnie Singh describes it, *The Coral Island* was a book '*for* boys and *about* boys, and it is even narrated *by* a boy, or, at least, a former boy'.[5] Ballantyne did not exactly invent children's literature, but his work, especially *The Coral Island*, made a profound and lasting impression on many Victorian authors of children's literature that would follow him, including Stevenson and Barrie. As Kathleen Blake has noted,

> The hunger for stories of the South Seas and their lonely islands […] was shared by Robert Louis Stevenson, who at fifteen stopped Ballantyne in the street to express his admiration, and by J. M. Barrie, who wrote an introduction to *The Coral Island* in 1913 which began: 'To be born is to be wrecked on an island' and for whom 'R. L. S.' were the sweetest initials in contemporary literature.[6]

In this way, Ballantyne, Stevenson, and Barrie form a Scottish triumvirate of Victorian boys' fiction, though each was intrigued by boyhood in differing ways. As Blake's example shows, Stevenson's fondness for Ballantyne's work

bordered on fandom (at least during Stevenson's teenage years), and Barrie had an equally high opinion of Stevenson, whom he never met but with whom he exchanged a series of letters. There are also clear ties and resonances between strikingly similar characters in the works these authors created, especially among the pirate Bloody Bill in *The Coral Island*, Long John Silver, and Captain James Hook. But what is even more important, particularly given the admiration of the later authors for Ballantyne's work, is how both Stevenson and Barrie, consciously or unconsciously, pushed children's literature closer to the dark realities of a pirate's life and the potential damage such a life might create for a teenage boy.

In the critical realm, these three authors have received widely varying amounts of attention. Ballantyne's works have rarely been approached on their own merits (or lack thereof, as suggested by Golding's derision of *The Coral Island*), but there has been substantial interest in the portrayal of masculinity as well as the role of missionaries in his works in recent years.[7] Barrie's connection with the supposed 'Kailyard school' of the 1880s severely damaged his literary reputation, damage that has lingered until just the past few years, in part due to how the originally narrow term of 'Kailyard' evolved across the twentieth century. As Andrew Nash has pointed out, 'Kailyard came to refer to the whole Victorian period in Scottish literature' as twentieth-century critics and writers sought to paint the period with the same simplistic brush that kept much of Barrie's work out of critical sight until very recently.[8] While that has kept his other works out of the limelight, though, the enduring popularity of the Peter Pan story has led to three edited essay collections in the past five years alone that focus on Barrie's most famous work.[9] Stevenson's most famous works, *Treasure Island* and *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, have been steadily written about over the decades, and the study of Stevenson's many other rich works has recently blossomed. Recent critical interest has focused on a variety of issues in *Treasure Island*, with special interest in the novel's connections to economics, slavery, and piracy.[10] Roslyn Jolly and Michelle Elleray have also explored direct links between *The Coral Island* and Stevenson's final completed work, *The Ebb-Tide* (1894). But no one has yet drawn a direct line from Ballantyne to Stevenson to Barrie or focused on the danger that adolescents face and at times create

in their works – or the larger implications of such portrayals to the study of Scottish and British children's literature of this era.

While a close look at Ballantyne's most famous novel reveals ways in which he sought to tell a realistic and even educational tale to his boy readers, it also exposes the flaws that Golding a century later and, to a lesser extent, Stevenson and Barrie only decades later, would seek to revise. Somewhat surprisingly, in the opening pages of *The Coral Island*, Ballantyne has the three boys who have just been shipwrecked immediately engage in a debate that cuts to the heart of the novel's problematic assumptions about boyhood. Peterkin, thirteen years old and filled with optimism and naïveté, exclaims, 'I have made up my mind that it's capital—first-rate—the best thing that ever happened to us, and the most splendid prospect that ever lay before three jolly young tars. We've got an island all to ourselves'.[11] Ralph, fifteen at the time and the novel's (adult) narrator, does not share Peterkin's enthusiasm, worrying to himself that they'll either be 'roasted alive and eaten' or 'starved to death' (8). In response to Peterkin, Jack, an eighteen-year-old destined to be the leader of this trio, offers this sobering assessment: 'we are really in rather an uncomfortable position. If this is a desert island, we shall have to live very much like the wild beasts; for we have not a tool of any kind—not even a knife' (8). And yet, despite these worries, fully the first half of the novel sees the trio left to their own devices on the island, living in relative ease (eating fruits from trees and the pigs that Peterkin regularly kills) and learning much about the island like schoolboys. This strains most readers' credulity, of course, though it seems likely that Ballantyne was not particularly worried about this, given his intended audience. It is also a defining feature of the Robinsonade – the main characters not only survive but often thrive in an alien environment without too much angst or anguish. But what likely angered Golding the most (and may have also quietly troubled Stevenson and Barrie) is the uninterrupted harmony among the three boys throughout their adventures, as Ralph describes in this passage:

> we three on this our island, although most unlike in many things, when united, made a trio so harmonious that I question if there ever

> met before such an agreeable triumvirate. There was, indeed, no note of discord whatever in the symphony we played together on that sweet Coral Island; and I am now persuaded that this was owing to our having been all tuned to the same key—namely, that of *love*! Yes, we loved one another with much fervency while we lived on that island; and, for the matter of that, we love each other still. (50)

A saccharine moment where the sentimentality of Ballantyne's approach is so obvious as to be almost overwhelming, this passage stands in stark contrast to the texts that Stevenson and Barrie would create, ones that would bring a more sceptical approach to the nature of adolescence – and the prospects for adolescents to survive in such extreme conditions with relative ease.

At the same time, the standard myth of simplicity that surrounds Ballantyne's text doesn't entirely withstand scrutiny. Once the boys' solitude is broken midway through the novel, they witness a series of harrowing events, including cannibalism, violent murder at close quarters, and a withering shot from the pirates' cannon that cuts a bloody and devastating swath through a crowd of islanders. After several of these moments, Ballantyne deliberately notes the psychological impact on the boys, especially on the youngest, Peterkin. Reflecting on his reaction to the cannon shot that instantly kills or maims dozens, Ralph himself notes,

> It was many days after the events just narrated ere I recovered a little of my wonted spirits. I could not shake off the feeling for a long time that I was in a frightful dream, and the sight of our captain filled me with so much horror that I kept out of his way as much as my duties about the cabin would permit. (87)

Ballantyne does not flinch from presenting these violent scenes (so much so that one wonders if he considered them part of his book's appeal). But, whatever silence or contemplation the boys are driven to by these experiences, their recovery is always complete and fairly swift. This pattern reaches its zenith in the novel's final chapters, as the boys' failed rescue of an islander

named Avatea leaves them in prison and expecting to be killed at any moment. Instead, due to the sudden and complete conversion to Christianity by their enemies, they are released and allowed to sail home, full of exciting stories to tell and, by all appearances, no worse for the experience:

> That night, as we sat on the taffrail gazing out upon the wide sea and up into the starry firmament, a thrill of joy, strangely mixed with sadness, passed through our hearts; for we were at length 'homeward bound' and were gradually leaving far behind us the beautiful, bright-green coral islands of the Pacific Ocean. (135)

Such a sense of adventure, as well as the requisite happy ending of nineteenth-century children's literature, clearly left a strong impression on Robert Louis Stevenson, particularly as a child and adolescent. Some twenty-five years after the publication of Ballantyne's most famous book, however, Stevenson would confront many of the same challenges as Ballantyne did but respond in important new ways.

Though few people other than serious scholars of Stevenson realise it, *Treasure Island* initially appeared in serialised form to a surprisingly muted reaction. Growing out of Stevenson's relationship with his stepson, Lloyd Osbourne, this original version of the story, published serially between October 1881 and January 1882, did not garner much attention from the boy readers of a magazine called *Young Folks*. As David Mann and William Hardesty III explain, the manuscript was so hurriedly constructed that Stevenson, after initially agreeing to the project, came to have serious doubts: 'having committed himself to the project, he [Stevenson] would have to go through with it, for both money and pride. […] Thus, hastily concluded under great stress, full of inconsistencies and infelicities, the manuscript was dispatched to [James] Henderson'.[12] Even before the somewhat indifferent response that the story received, Stevenson had already resolved to revisit and heavily revise it, explaining to his father in a letter, 'You may be pleased to hear that I mean to re-write Treasure Id [*sic*] in the whole latter part'.[13] That revision, of course, would transform *Treasure Island* into a much beloved tale, but what we know of the revisions he made stands as an

intriguing story of its own. The initial, serialised version, one no doubt written with *The Coral Island* powerfully in his mind, features a very different and much more juvenile Jim Hawkins. According to David Angus in his study of that original version, 'In *Young Folks* we find a Jim Hawkins […] who is unexpectedly nervous, unheroic, and given to a rather hollow bombastic swagger'; Angus also notes 'Jim's nervous instability and boyish braggadocio'.[14] And this leads Angus to make an important distinction between the two versions of *Treasure Island*:

> In the *Young Folks* version we seem to look through the eyes of Jim Hawkins the *boy*, despite the fact that the language of his narrative is sometimes a good deal too sophisticated for that. The story, of course, is for the most part meant to be told by the *mature* Mr. Hawkins in retrospect. In revising for the book version Stevenson seems to have remembered this latter point, and made it his lodestar. (emphasis in original) [15]

In other words, Stevenson's original conception of his famous tale was, just like *The Coral Island*, a book '*for* boys and *about* boys, and it is even narrated *by* a boy.' In shifting his focus toward the adult Jim, Stevenson also transformed his most famous work for young readers into a story that pushed Ballantyne's paradigm forward into a more realistic and potentially darker place.

The most obvious explanation for Stevenson's substantial changes to *Treasure Island*, especially to the character of Jim Hawkins, is that he was targeting a different and more mature audience. As Angus points out, 'It may well be that this abrupt maturing had much to do with the fact that the story in *Young Folks* was intended primarily for a youthful audience or readership […], and the book form made it accessible to adults'.[16] However, any changes inspired by this shift in audience also inevitably made Stevenson's work less like Ballantyne's and more like Stevenson's later works, deepening the psychology of the tale while deliberately removing the kind of didactic or educational passages that frequently dominated children's literature of the time. Stevenson's efforts to make Jim's character more admirable

and less annoying clearly improved the tale and the reaction it inspired in its readers. As Mann and Hardesty explain, Stevenson made the revised Jim 'a more consistent protagonist, who has a greater control of the situation' and also gave him 'additional self-assurance and competence in order to increase his heroism and to improve the reader's identification with him'.[17] But such efforts also lead us to the complicated debate about the relationship between fiction and real life that Stevenson and Henry James engaged in through their own essays as well as a memorable exchange of letters in the 1880s. Joining a broader conversation about how 'real' a novel could ever be, Stevenson offered this intriguing statement in his essay 'A Gossip on Romance' (1882):

> [T]he great creative writer shows us the realisation and the apotheosis of the day-dreams of common men. His stories may be nourished with the realities of life, but their true mark is to satisfy the nameless longings of the reader, and to obey the ideal laws of the day-dream.[18]

The revised *Treasure Island*, then, is more 'realistic' but in this complicated sense: Jim is more able, more confident, and more relatable, so that readers young and old can connect more to this friendly and unlikely 'hero'. But Stevenson had to walk a fine line, giving Jim a more realistically 'haunted' psyche and more convincingly dangerous experience on the island … but without ever having him experience the death that might easily result from multiple clashes with pirates in real life.

One moment in *Treasure Island* that brings the challenge of striking this delicate balance into sharp focus is Jim's desperate and ultimately fatal struggle with Israel Hands aboard the *Hispaniola*. Seeking to capture the mix of confidence, arrogance, and vulnerability that defines a fifteen-year-old adolescent like Jim Hawkins, Stevenson consistently presents the very real fear and disgust that Jim's adventures inspire in him as well as the series of fortunate accidents that lead him to see himself as a hero. In the middle of the novel, Jim sneaks away from his allies on the island, steals a tiny boat known as a coracle, has it sink beneath him, and eventually manages to

climb aboard a nearly deserted *Hispaniola*. Despite this series of events, Jim announces himself on deck (where only one dead pirate and a seriously wounded Hands await) in a truly adolescent, cocksure manner: '"I've come aboard to take possession of this ship, Mr Hands; and you'll please regard me as your captain until further notice." […] "God save the king!" said I, waving my cap; "and there's an end to Captain Silver!"'.[19] Revelling in what he considers his 'conquest' of the ship, Jim notices Hands' clumsy attempts to regain the advantage and to place him in real peril. With the narrative shifting away from the adult Jim for this crucial section, the adolescent Jim arrogantly observes that 'a child could have told that [Hands] was bent on some deception' and soon decides to take a chance at beaching the ship with Hands aboard because 'it was a boy's game, and I thought I could hold my own at it, against an elderly seaman with a wounded thigh' (153, 157). Quite cleverly, Stevenson (and the adult Jim whom he has drafted as his narrator) shows us how the adolescent Jim comes to partially believe the 'daydream' that he might triumph over this grizzled old pirate. But danger still lurks behind the daydream, as Jim is suddenly pinned to the mast by Hands' knife (while he literally chuckles at Hands' apparent helplessness). Responding to that pain, Jim accidentally discharges both the pistols he's holding, killing Hands instantly. Ultimately, readers get the only imaginable outcome from this standoff (Jim has to survive this mortal threat), but Stevenson carefully shows readers just how much luck and happenstance are needed for this teenager to avoid a much darker outcome. Even more crucially, Stevenson has transformed the 'boy' Jim Hawkins into an (accidental) murderer – a teenager who has witnessed murder, nearly been killed himself, and now killed another man. *Treasure Island*, in more ways than one, is quite a distance from *The Coral Island*.

Given this violence, much has been made of the amoral nature of the action portrayed by Stevenson in this celebrated tale. A substantial part of that discussion recently has focused on Stevenson's depiction of pirates as something less than absolute villains—a group with a surprising devotion to rules (exemplified by their use of the 'black spot,' in particular) and, most famously, the figure of Long John Silver, a pirate that Jim cannot help but admire.[20] Focusing on Jim's close relationship with Silver in the story, Bradley

Deane has argued that Stevenson's aim in highlighting this pairing was 'to naturalize the behavior of pirates as an expression of the essence of boyhood'.[21] He also draws further connections between the pirates' behavior in *Treasure Island* and Stevenson's essays on childhood, in particular an 1878 essay called 'Child's Play.' From the perspective of this study, though, we can see an even more complex phenomenon occurring. In order to give Jim a fighting chance against seasoned and ruthless pirates, Stevenson portrays those pirates as acting in childish ways; at the same time, Jim acts less childishly than most readers might expect and certainly less than his counterpart in the serialisation of *Treasure Island*, thus levelling the playing field, if not tipping it in Jim's favour. The infantilisation of the pirates in the story starts with Hands but eventually extends to all the pirates on the island except Silver. Describing the pirates' behaviour during a truce as Dr Livesey treats them for an illness, Jim happily points out how 'they had taken his prescriptions, with really laughable humility, more like charity school-children than blood-guilty mutineers and pirates' (182). Even more problematic, though, is how the adult characters, both pirates and civilians alike, increasingly validate Jim's belief that he deserves complete credit for turning the tide in the struggle between the two groups. After Jim brags to Silver that 'it was I' who almost singlehandedly ruined the pirates' plans, Silver expresses admiration for him and soon entrusts his life to this teenage boy (170). Later, when Livesey hears a similar speech from Jim about his exploits, the doctor brings the 'daydream' quality of the tale to its zenith, affirming, 'Every step, it's you that saves our lives' (184). For the boys who would read it – and the men who still cherished their boyhood as well – this is the dream scenario: that a fifteen-year-old boy could not only survive a confrontation with pirates but actually best them and save several good and decent fellows in the process. But, as Stevenson also says in 'A Gossip on Romance,' *Treasure Island* is still a book that is carefully 'nourished with the realities of life,'[22] including very real danger.

Ultimately, Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, especially its book edition, moved Ballantyne's initial model in important new directions. Central to that new direction was an effort to make the story more believable to a wider range of readers, accounting not just for boys and adolescents but for grown men

as well. Gone as well are the didactic moments typical of children's literature through much of the Victorian era and almost any trace of Christian ideology or theology. And, perhaps most notably, Stevenson sought to make his villains complex and not wholly evil individuals, especially in his portrayal of Silver. At the same time, Stevenson leaves the 'daydream' intact, pushing Jim into imminent peril in his confrontation with Hands but never seriously endangering him. Nor does he give Jim any negative or dark traits, aside from his penchant to act impulsively. For all of its amorality, as well as Stevenson's considerable efforts to show the psychological impact (and potentially lasting damage) of Jim's adventures, *Treasure Island*'s popularity from its initial publication as a book up to our own time lies in its exhilarating storytelling and its essentially happy ending. Two decades later, an author famous for telling the world that children were 'gay and innocent and heartless' would create another beloved child figure with a wealth of darkness within him that Jim Hawkins might hardly believe.

Thirty years ago, in her groundbreaking study *The Case of Peter Pan*, Jacqueline Rose made this striking claim: '*Peter Pan* has never, in any easy way, been a book for children at all'.[23] That may or may not be true, of course, but a closer look at some of the play's features in 1904 and 1905 – features that would disappear well before Barrie created his own novelisation of the story in 1911 – certainly suggests the author's sense that children were indeed his audience. Several critics have pored over the earliest manuscripts of *Peter Pan* and noted a number of passages and scenes that were removed or replaced in those early years of the play's performance. Peter Hollindale provides a useful list of these in his edition of *Peter Pan and Other Plays*. Early performances included, among other things, 'figures and incidents derived from pantomime' and 'Hook's survival from the Pirate ship scene'.[24] In other words, the earliest performances of *Peter Pan* provided the kind of slapstick pantomime that would have appealed to a wide range of viewers, including children, of course, and, more strikingly, hesitated to actually kill the infamous villain of the play. All of these choices largely fit with our understanding of Barrie, especially in looking backward to earlier parts of his career – his creation of his 'Tommy' character and a series of highly sentimental tales around 1890 that were clearly built for a youthful audience

– and his own personal fascination with children, especially his close relationship with the Llewelyn Davies boys. But Barrie's approach to literature and even to the Peter Pan story itself would soon change in substantial ways, as the 1911 text of *Peter and Wendy* reveals.

Despite his reputation for 'never growing up' and the general innocence associated with his story, the Peter Pan that dominates *Peter and Wendy* is far removed from the naïveté of Ralph Rover or even the excited and sometimes foolish Jim Hawkins. In fact, he is much closer to Golding's nightmare re-envisioning of Ballantyne's shipwrecked children, especially the tyrannical Jack of *Lord of the Flies*. Barrie does preserve a more childlike innocence through John and Michael Darling, who echo a character like Peterkin from *The Coral Island*. But Wendy Darling's growing maturity and Barrie's narrator himself expose the inconsistencies and the chilling effect of Peter's leadership of the Lost Boys and his general conduct in the Neverland. In the few quiet moments of Barrie's story, the hints are there: Peter tells the Lost Boys what to wear, forbids them to speak about mothers (though they do so when he is not around), forces them to be content with 'pretend' meals and go to bed hungry whenever he feels like it, and, most ominously, we learn this: 'The boys on the island vary, of course, in numbers, according as they get killed and so on; and when they seem to be growing up, which is against the rules, Peter thins them out' (60). Though we do not learn how exactly he 'thins them out', this is a disturbing suggestion, especially given the obvious fear of Peter that the Lost Boys demonstrate throughout the story. After being goaded into shooting Wendy out of the sky by Tinker Bell, and believing Wendy to be dead, Tootles, one of the Lost Boys, threatens to flee, explaining (while 'shaking'), 'I am so afraid of Peter' (74). Moments later, his fear proves justified, as Wendy wakes up just in time to stop Peter from killing Tootles. Later, in an even stranger moment, Barrie's narrator explains Peter's reaction to Wendy's choice to leave him behind and return with her brothers and the Lost Boys to reality:

> he was so full of wrath against grown-ups, who, as usual, were spoiling everything, that as soon as he got inside his tree he breathed intentionally quick short breaths at the rate of about five to a second. He

> did this because there is a saying in the Neverland that every time you breathe, a grown-up dies; and Peter was killing them off vindictively as fast as possible. (131)

Entirely make-believe – like stepping on cracks to kill mothers, for instance – this bizarre and petulant moment also shows the dangerous mixture of vindictiveness and childishness in Peter Pan. We know, of course, that he's not killing anyone, but his belief that he *is* killing them is clearly intended to make us reconsider just who and what Peter actually is.

At the same time, all of this is presented in a deliberately fantastical tale – there are no real-life locations of the Neverland to be unearthed, as with Ballantyne's 'coral island' in the south Pacific or Stevenson's 'treasure island' off the coast of California, nor any extended discussions of actual flora or fauna. Even more markedly than in *Treasure Island*, the pirate villains act in a juvenile, almost cartoonish way. Yet death remains a real and irrevocable thing, even in the Neverland, both in the implied deaths of past Lost Boys and the explicitly portrayed deaths of Captain James Hook and his crew. As Peter systematically kills the crew of the *Hispaniola*, Barrie highlights the cost of the deadly spree through a Lost Boy named Slightly, a child who has already shown a surprising maturity earlier in the story. In a moment that foreshadows modern young adult fiction more than it echoes the children's literature that came before it, Slightly solemnly counts up the bodies:

> There was little sound to be heard but the clang of weapons, an occasional screech or splash, and Slightly monotonously counting —five—six—seven—eight—nine—ten—eleven. […] 'Seventeen,' Slightly sang out; but he was not quite correct in his figures. Fifteen paid the penalty for their crimes that night[.] (173, 177)

Highlighting not just the violence of his tale but the lasting impact of that violence, Barrie also measures the toll that Peter's actions take on his psyche: 'Peter […] strutted up and down on deck, until at last he fell asleep by the side of Long Tom. He had one of his dreams that night, and cried in his

sleep for a long time, and Wendy held him tight' (178). Like Jim Hawkins before him but in even starker ways, Peter seems literally to be haunted by his violent exploits. Yet, once the Darlings return to their normal lives, Peter continues to be either unequipped or unwilling to consciously own up to the consequences of his actions. In a subsequent visit to Wendy's window, Peter tells her that he has no memory of killing Hook, chillingly insisting, 'I forget them after I kill them' (196). Bringing children's literature to a much darker, more dangerous, and more ambiguous place than his two Scottish predecessors, Barrie's *Peter and Wendy* lives up to all three adjectives that he famously uses to describe children at the end of his story – 'gay and innocent and heartless' (206) – boldly moving Scottish children's literature away from the sentimentality he once embraced and toward a place of cold and brutal reality more appropriate to a new and soon to be terrifying century.

Ultimately, an examination of the most famous works of three of Scotland's most well-known Victorian and Edwardian authors shows how Scottish children's literature – and Scottish literature as a whole – transformed, in fits and starts, into a deeply complex thing across the Victorian period and the early decades of the twentieth century, even prior to MacDiarmid's arrival. The ongoing challenge of translating life into literature in a realistic manner presented itself in literature for children as much as it did in literature for adults – especially as authors like Stevenson began to imagine works that would appeal to boys and men alike. Looking backwards from our own time, the growing recognition of the potential for violence and the potential darkness of childhood and adolescence by Stevenson and Barrie has become a commonplace in popular young adult literature that often takes on a dystopian tone. In retrospect, the works of Ballantyne, Stevenson, and Barrie represent substantial moments in both the history of Scottish children's literature and in the eventual birth of the young adult literature that has become so popular with teenage and adult readers as well.

Notes

1 William Golding, *The Hot Gates, and Other Occasional Pieces* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), p. 88.
2 J. M. Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, illus. Jan Ormerod (Harmondsworth, UK: Viking Kestrel, 1988), p. 206. All subsequent parenthetical in-text references are to this edition.
3 These rules have changed markedly today, especially with the rise of young adult literature in the past decade or two. Suzanne Collins' *Hunger Games* trilogy, to take one famous example, is premised on a competition in which more than a dozen teenagers kill each other in a twisted, government-sanctioned 'game'.
4 See Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007) for a thorough exploration of this issue.
5 Minnie Singh, 'The Government of Boys: Golding's *Lord of the Flies* and Ballantyne's *Coral Island*', *Children's Literature*, 25 (1997): 205–13 (p. 206).
6 Kathleen Blake, 'The Sea-Dream: *Peter Pan* and *Treasure Island*', *Children's Literature*, 6 (1977): 165–81 (p. 166).
7 See, for instance, Michelle Elleray, 'Watermarks on the Coral Island: The Pacific Island Missionary as Children's Hero', in *Oceania and the Victorian Imagination: Where All Things Are Possible*, eds. Richard D. Fulton and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 167–80, and David Agruss, 'Boys Gone Wild: Island Stranding, Cross-Racial Identification, and Metropolitan Masculinity in R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*', *Victorian,* 1 (2013): 1–19.
8 Andrew Nash, 'The Kailyard: Problem or Illusion?', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, eds. Ian Brown *et al.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), vol 2, pp. 317–23 (p. 319).
9 See Alfonso Muñoz Corcuera and Elisa T. Di Biase, *Barrie, Hook, and Peter Pan: Studies in Contemporary Myth* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012); Allison Kavey and Lester D. Friedman, *Second Star to the Right: Peter Pan in the Popular Imagination* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009); and Donna R. White and C. Anita Tarr, *J. M. Barrie's* Peter Pan *In and Out of Time: A Children's Classic at 100* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006).
10 See, for instance, Andrew Loman, 'The Sea Cook's Wife: Evocations of Slavery in *Treasure Island*', *Children's Literature*, 38 (2010): 1–26, and Monica F. Cohen, 'Imitation Fiction: Pirate Citings in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 41 (1) (2013): 153–73.
11 R. M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island* (Lexington, KY: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), p. 8. All subsequent parenthetical in-text references are to this edition.
12 David D. Mann and William Hardesty III, 'Stevenson's Revisions of *Treasure Island*: "Writing Down the Particulars"', *Text*, 3 (1987): 377–92 (p. 380).
13 Cited in Mann and Hardesty, p. 380.
14 David Angus, 'Youth on the Prow: The First Publication of *Treasure Island*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 25 (1990): 83–99 (pp. 86, 88).
15 Angus, pp. 97–98.
16 Ibid., p. 98.
17 Mann and Hardesty, pp. 385–86.

18 Quoted in Scott Hames, 'Realism and Romance', *Approaches to Teaching the Works of Robert Louis Stevenson*, edited by Caroline McCracken-Flesher (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2013), pp. 61–68 (p. 66).
19 Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island*, ed. Wendy Katz (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 149. All subsequent parenthetical in-text references are to this edition.
20 Bradley Deane, 'Imperial Boyhood: Piracy and the Play Ethic', *Victorian Studies*, 53 (4) (2011 Summer): 689–714 (p. 698).
21 Ibid., p. 697.
22 Hames, p. 66.
23 Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan, or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 1. Her main reason for making this bold claim is her belief that 'children's literature' is and always has been about exploiting and manipulating actual children instead of writing to please them.
24 Peter Hollindale, 'Note on the Text', *Peter Pan and Other Plays*. By J. M. Barrie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. xxix.

10. Colonising Neverland: British Motherhood as Imaginative Play in J. M. Barrie's *Peter and Wendy*

RODNEY M. D. FIERCE

In the play *Peter Pan* (1904) and its 1911 novelisation, *Peter and Wendy,*[1] J. M. Barrie presents a socio-politicised portrait of both childhood and motherhood in a way that allows him to support and uphold the domestic ideals and values of 'Britishness' while simultaneously criticising the class elitism that he considered to be a hallmark of 'Englishness'. The terms 'Englishness' and 'Britishness' are not interchangeable in this essay; rather, they appear as a way to distinguish between Barrie's use of domesticity to demonstrate both his patriotism and the colonising power of the British Empire (Britishness) and his criticism of the hypocritical class system that was bolstered by imperialism, which he codes as specifically 'English' through characters such as Captain Hook. In the novel Barrie may have Wendy tell the Lost Boys that 'We hope that our sons will die like English gentlemen' (192) but he does not provide any positive examples of English manhood (gentlemanly or otherwise) within the text. Mr Darling and Captain Hook are both tragic-comic figures, whereas Wendy and Mrs Darling use their domestic power to transform the wild Lost Boys into responsible citizens who are reabsorbed into the British Empire.

Though domesticity and childhood are politicised in the original stage play, they are more explicitly so in the novel *Peter and Wendy*, and it is largely the latter text on which this chapter draws in exploring how Barrie's texts inhabit a unique imaginative space in forging associations between ideas of creativity and childhood and those related to broader questions of national, political, and gendered identities.

Barrie's promotion of the virtues of British domesticity in *Peter Pan* is emblematic of an allegiance to the larger socio-political entity in which Scotland played an increasingly large role throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[2] Barrie uses the Darling nursery, and the

imaginative play that serves as the source of Wendy and her mother's narrative power, and their control and manipulation of language, to open up the story's socio-political dimensions. The Darlings are English characters,[3] but Barrie uses imaginative power to draw a distinction between Wendy and Mrs Darling – who embody the wholesomeness of maternity and domesticity in spite of their shabby-genteel middle-class status – and Mr Darling and Captain Hook, whose obsessive focus on their place within the English class system undermines their power and occasionally renders them comic. Barrie not only politicises motherhood in *Peter Pan* but also aligns childhood – specifically boyhood – with the concepts of wildness and 'otherness', suggesting that only the female domestic presence represented by Wendy and her mother is capable of producing civility within male children. Ultimately, he grants Wendy and Mrs Darling power through the use of domesticity-as-play to facilitate their re-fashioning of the Lost Boys – whose identity is eroded or 'othered' through their experiences in Neverland – into model British subjects who grow up, go to an office, and are loyal to the king.

The Darling nursery functions within the narrative as a reflection of Mrs Darling's merit, imaginative power, and triumph over class inequity, the dictates of which imply that her children have no right to the same type of nursery enjoyed by upper-middle class families. In the play's stage directions, Barrie takes the reader on a tour of the Darling household, and he remarks that 'the door to the right leads into the day nursery, which she has no right to have, but she made it herself with nails in her mouth and a paste-pot in her hand'.[4] Throughout the play's first act and the novel's opening chapters, Barrie consistently mocks Mr Darling's class pretensions and 'passion for being exactly like his neighbours' (16) – which his meagre finances preclude – but praises and rewards Mrs Darling's desire 'to have everything just so' (16) by imbuing her with the fortitude to create a wonderful dream-space for her children in spite of financial hardship.

The Darling's nursemaid, for instance, is a Newfoundland dog named Nana who is all that they can afford. Barrie remarks in the play that 'though this may shock the grandiose, the not exactly affluent will make allowances. The Darlings could not afford to have a nurse, they could not afford indeed

to have children, and now you are beginning to understand how they did it' (88). Steinbach notes that having servants – particularly nannies for children – was a fundamental symbol of middle to upper class life; indeed 'children might see their parents only a few hours a day, and were often devoted to their nannies'.[5] Though the narrator mocks the Darlings' English middle-class social pretensions by giving them a dog as a nursemaid, he praises Mrs Darling for using creativity, imagination, and domestic play to provide the best for her children and her use of the nursery space to turn them into responsible imperial subjects. Narrative power in the play and novel versions of *Peter Pan* therefore begins with Mrs Darling, who overcomes the socio-economic limitations of her environment by turning domesticity into a game with rules and aesthetics that can be replicated and controlled in the nursery space.

Mrs Darling and Wendy's efforts to transform children into dutiful British subjects through domestic play are positively regarded within the text of both novel and play because the motives behind them are unselfish; since the maternal figure is equated with selflessness the power which Wendy and her mother wield through the language of domesticity is safe in their hands because it is not abused. Through her design of the nursery, Mrs Darling constructs the framework for Wendy's childhood which reflects the domestic pleasures Barrie wants associated with Britishness. To make Wendy's bedspread, for instance, Mrs Darling cuts up her wedding dress, literally using the symbol of the end of her own girlhood – the white wedding dress – to create a comforting environment for her children. The Darling nursery can therefore be conceived not only as the ultimate safe imaginative space in the novel's world, but also serves as a domestic microcosm of a place in which 'savage' children can be transformed into respectable British subjects. Mrs Darling accomplishes this task with her progeny by converting the rules and mores of British domesticity into a series of games and stories which distract the children from the fact that their Otherness is being colonised and reshaped. Though Barrie glorifies the selfishness of childhood, transforming Wendy into a colonising agent indicates that he also views (particularly male) childhood as a state of primitive Otherness – as something that needs to be tamed and shaped by feminine influence.

When Wendy and John first appear in the novel, they play at being Mr and Mrs Darling in the moment their children are born. The incorporation of games and stories in Wendy and John's recreation of life events is a testament to the success of Mrs Darling's colonising effect upon her children, as they perfectly mimic the joy and consternation that characterised their actual births. The omniscient narrator – who is in collusion with Mrs Darling – comments favourably as the children play-act being their parents. When John says to Wendy, 'I am happy to inform you, Mrs Darling, that you are now a mother' (28), the narrator admits that John says this 'in just such a tone as Mr Darling himself may have used on the real occasion' (28). Wendy, cast as Mrs Darling, 'had danced with joy, just as the real Mrs Darling must have done' (28). Mrs Darling does such a credible job creating her children that they become more parent-like than the parents themselves.

When Mr Darling has to take his medicine, for instance, he becomes child-like, complaining to John that 'it's the most beastly stuff. It's that nasty, sticky, sweet kind' (30). John meanwhile ascends to the paternal role by reassuring a petulant Mr Darling that 'It will soon be over, father' (30). The domestic patterns with which Wendy transforms Neverland into a facsimile of the Darling nursery all emanate from Mrs Darling who is the embodiment of what Homi Bhabha calls the Western book, the familial 'English national language'[6] upon which colonising efforts are based. Mrs Darling becomes the director/creator of Englishness for all characters in the novel, but particularly for Wendy whom she fashions as a perfect mimesis of English domesticity.

The narrator in the novel indicates that Mrs Darling creates a game out of domesticity in ways that Wendy mimics during her subsequent adventures in Neverland. She not only 'kept the books perfectly, almost gleefully, as if it were a game' (14), but also 'drew [her children] when she should have been totting up' (14). The act of creating her children, as opposed to birthing them, enables Mrs Darling to retain complete freedom to shape their characters using her concept of Englishness. Yet because the Darlings are not wealthy, there is concern over whether they will even be able to keep Wendy. Mrs Darling masks her anxiety by transforming the situation into a domestic game in which she and her husband tally up the expenses one

incurs raising children as though fashioning a grocery list. Barrie's text addresses class inequities as well as the socio-economic anxieties about raising children, both of which are successfully dealt with by Mrs Darling through the use of domestic play.

Mrs Darling begins fashioning Wendy as coloniser, teaching her the rules of English cultural discourse through stories at the age of two. After plucking a rose and handing it to her mother, 'Mrs Darling put her hand to her heart and cried, "Oh, why can't you remain like this forever!" This was all that passed between them on the subject, but henceforth Wendy knew that she must grow up' (3). Though she successfully creates Wendy in her own image, Mrs Darling acknowledges that children have the capacity to lapse into the savage Other which English domesticity is meant to correct. She forestalls this by controlling her children's thoughts and dreams, a process which the narrator refers to as 'tidying up her children's minds' (17). Her actions are supported by the narrator, who justifies her conduct by explaining that 'it is the nightly custom of every good mother after her children are asleep to rummage in their minds and put things straight for next morning, repacking the many articles that have wandered during the day' (17).

She is such an effective coloniser that even her children's private thoughts are open to her reconstructive abilities and she re-categorises the thoughts in their heads and removes any dissident ones so that 'when you wake in the morning, the naughtiness and evil passions with which you went to bed have been folded up and placed at the bottom of your mind, and on the top, beautifully aired, are spread out your prettier thoughts, ready for you to put on' (17). The effectiveness of Mrs Darling establishes her household as 'a measure of mimesis and a mode of civil authority and order'[7] and it is the allure of this ideal domestic environment that draws Peter Pan to the nursery window from Neverland.

The arrival of Peter Pan in her nursery provides Wendy with an ideal opportunity for testing her efficacy at wielding the power of domestic play. Bhabha asserts that the colonised 'native' image 'can neither be "original" by virtue of the act of repetition that constructs it – nor "identical" by virtue of the difference that defines it'.[8] The inference is that the Other to which Bhabha refers are natives of the colonised land, and so it can never be more than an

imperfect copy of the colonising force. The difference between the Lost Boys and Bhabha's indigenous Other is that these boys do not belong by origin to Never Land, but are British child subjects who 'adopt' a wild persona during their time there. According to Peter, the Lost Boys are 'the children who fall out of their perambulators when the nurse is looking the other way. If they are not claimed in seven days they are sent far away to the Neverland to defray expenses' (44). Wendy's colonising of them has the potential for successful replication because the boys are English-born, so Wendy's quest is to reclaim and retrain rather than strictly colonise them. Peter, more than the Lost Boys, represents the ultimate colonial conquest because he is the eternal nature child, which his name 'Pan' – associated with the half-human/half-goat creature which is the Graeco-Roman God of Nature – indicates. Barrie borrowed extensively from the Pan mythology to create Peter: in early editions of the play Peter appeared onstage playing the pan-pipes – a musical instrument created by Pan from reeds – and even rode around on a goat.[9] Like the god Pan, Peter represents the indigenous Other and is not entirely human, frequently describing himself as being part bird.[10]

Wendy's encounter with Peter in the nursery, however, is one of mutual seduction, with each attempting to exert the power of language over the other as they vie for narrative control. When Peter insists that 'not only had he no mother, but he had not the slightest desire to have one' (39), Wendy not only delights in his ignorance but concocts a scheme to get to Neverland in order to fashion him into a fitting British partner for herself. The kiss/thimble conversation is the first example of Wendy's attempts to manipulate Peter into doing her bidding. Wendy takes advantage of Peter's ignorance by replacing 'the correct word (kiss) with the false object (thimble) which grants her potential power within the language system, which she knows that she can manipulate with some impunity'.[11]

Wendy's manipulation is so effective that, barring interference from Tinkerbell, she convinces Peter to violate his rule about never being touched and consent to kiss her. Her stories – the inherited language of colonisation – are what she uses to lure Peter to want her as mother-figure, telling him '"Don't go Peter. I know such lots of stories […] Oh the stories I could tell to the boys"' (47). As with Mrs Darling, the narrator is in collusion with

Wendy, recording her exact words so that her mission is clear to the reader; 'there can be no denying that it was she who first tempted him' (45). Wendy crafts her plea in such a way that Peter feels that the whole venture was his idea, convincing the wild otherworld character to ask to be colonised. Peter is equally adept with language, however, and in his seduction of Wendy the narrator notes that 'there was a greedy look in his eyes now, which ought to have alarmed her' (45). The stage directions in the play use similar language to describe Peter's tempting Wendy, referring to him as 'the artful one' (99). By casting himself and the Lost Boys as new 'Darling children' he provides Wendy with the opportunity to ascend to her mother's position and play at English domesticity by 'tucking us in at night […] and you could darn our clothes and make pockets for us' (47). As Peter describes the joys of mothering the Lost Boys Wendy's body starts 'wriggling in distress. It was quite as if she was trying to remain on the nursery floor' (47). The narrator colludes with Peter, asking the reader, 'How could she resist?' (47). Peter seems voluntarily to surrender his power to the feminised colonial authority figure but she herself also engages in a surrender of sorts, allowing herself to be seduced in order to get to the island. It is as though he is inviting Wendy to bring stability – through the creation of an English domestic nursery setting – in the island paradise that he rules as captain.

By seducing Wendy into coming to Neverland, Peter actually co-opts her narrative power for his own purposes. Though Wendy uses the language of domesticity to refashion Neverland and the Lost Boys' Home under the Ground into a replica of her nursery, her mandate to do so is entirely at Peter's behest and disappears the moment that he feels bored or threatened. As the lines between reality and fantasy are blurred in Neverland, Wendy and Peter's games are replicated in real life, as Wendy conquers the island through domestic play, while Peter conquers militaristically. Bhabha observes that as colonial power intrudes in the land of the Other, it must replicate to reassert itself on account of its ambivalent position there, and Wendy begins replicating the Darling nursery almost immediately upon arriving in Neverland. After being shot down by the Lost Boys, Peter asks Wendy to sing out what type of house she wishes to live in:

Immediately, without opening her eyes, Wendy began to sing:

> "I wish I had a pretty house,
> The littlest ever seen,
> With funny little walls
> And roof of mossy green" (84)

In the novel, Barrie indicates that Wendy's vision of Neverland involved her living 'in a house of leaves deftly sewn together' (74). By engaging the Lost Boys in a call and response song about the perfect home, Wendy instructs the boys in the rudiments of a proper British household while also ensuring that the Neverland of her mind becomes actualised. The novel's narrator notes that 'on the whole the Neverlands have a family resemblance, and if they stood still in a row you could say of them that they have each other's nose' (19). Since Barrie employs Neverland as a space for reflecting on self-identity, he uses Wendy's conquering of the Lost Boys and the island via domestic play to appropriate British Edwardian values. Wendy, as a relatively poor girl who represents the best of Edwardian Britain, is the emissary reflecting Barrie's own childhood as much as she is Mrs Darling's colonial agent. Her particular brand of colonisation is regarded as beneficial because it is both nonviolent and tied to imaginative play, thus retaining an element of fantasy. The narrator in the novel indicates that the boys 'gurgled with joy' (130) at Wendy's instructions. Even Peter favorably regards Wendy's changes to Neverland, as he exhorts the boys to, '"All look your best"' around her, for '"first impressions are awfully important"' (130). The nursery rhyme-like quality to Wendy's commands turn the labour into a story reminiscent of that which Mrs Darling would tell, and the boys quickly adopt Wendy's language and sing back to her:

> We've built the little walls and roof
> And made a lovely door,
> So tell us, mother Wendy,
> What are you wanting more? (84)

After the boys adopt Wendy's vernacular and construct the British household, she urges them to take on the role of British children, insisting that she wants '"gay windows all about, with roses peeping in, you know, and babies peeping out"' (84). Within the instructions for the home, Wendy codes the rules for British cultural assimilation, which the boys accept without realising it. As Wendy and John did in the Darling nursery, Peter and the Lost Boys adopt the familial roles in keeping with the stories they hear. Peter, in the role of father, tells the boys to '"all look your best"' (130) in a firm manner similar to John's authoritative command in the play, '"A little less noise there"' (89) when he played at being Mr Darling. Wendy transforms the Lost Boys and her brothers into children in a British family while the Home under the Ground is the nursery, an imaginative play space similar to that which the Darling children possess.[12]

By constructing Britishness as domestic play, Wendy creates an enclave of civilisation in the wilds of Neverland in which the boys begin to adopt the rules and customs observed in the Darling home. Wendy exerts her civilising will not just on the boys but on the island itself. In the Home Under the Ground, for instance, The Never tree grows in the centre of the room, but 'by tea time it was always about two feet high, and then they put a door on top of it, the whole thus becoming a table; as soon as they cleared away, they sawed off the trunk again, and thus there was more room to play' (89). Wendy's narrative power is imposed to such an extent that even the trees become a part of her game. The sawing of the Never tree in order to create a table in Wendy's facsimile of her British home can be seen as a metaphor for her use of domestic play to tame the wild natures of the Lost Boys into something respectable and British, much as Mrs Darling did by first constructing her children's nursery as a play space and then by imposing order through the nightly tidying of her children's minds.

During the visits to the Mermaid's Lagoon, for instance, Wendy imposed structure upon the boys' daily activities by insisting that they nap routinely after their mid-day meal. The novel's narrator observes that 'they lay there in the sun, and their bodies glistened in it, while [Wendy] sat beside them and looked important' (141). While the Lost Boys seem content in their role as children, Peter also appears to make a full conversion into Mr Darling.

At one point in the novel, Peter enters the Home Under the Ground like a husband returning from work and remarks to Wendy, '"Ah old lady, there is nothing more pleasant of an evening for you and me when the day's toil is over than to rest by the fire with the little ones nearby"' (161). During the Mermaid Lagoon fight he chivalrously saves Wendy, knowing that it may mean his death. As the tide creeps in on the rock they share, Peter ties Wendy to a floating balloon and pushes her to safety. When she asks that they draw lots to see who survives he replies, '"And you a lady; never"' (107), embodying the role of the perfect gentleman.

Though Wendy's recreation of the nursery in Neverland seems perfect, it may be salient to bear in mind Bhabha's observation that 'the effect of colonial power is seen to be the production of hybridisation […] it reveals the ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority and enables a form of subversion'.[13] In attempting to reproduce itself, colonial power instead creates a hybrid which in some sense is a mockery of the original power, even though ultimately power is reaffirmed. In this scenario, the Other does not refuse the power, but it does change it, and Peter does this to Wendy. He invites her to the island and is in collusion with her as she establishes Britain-in-Neverland by recreating the Darling nursery and her family structure, but he subverts it when it suits him. In the novel and play, it is Peter who prompts her to turn his island home into a recreation of her nursery by saying, '"Wendy, sing the kind of house that you would like to have"' (129). Wendy does establish the ideal nursery in the Home under the Ground, but the construction begins to break down when Peter rejects his role as the father/husband.

When Peter returns home after the Mermaid Lagoon, he play-acts the role of father perfectly at first before rejecting it entirely, asking, '"It is only make believe, isn't it, that I am their father?"' (120). When Wendy tries to draw him back into his designated role, Peter retreats and insists that his feelings for her are 'those of a devoted son' (121). By disobeying Wendy and refusing the role of father, Peter subverts her authority he has placed in her as mother; by refusing to assume ultimate power as Wendy's husband, he destabilises the entire colonial power structure she erects and takes away her narrative power. He does not want to be the coloniser and permanently

adopt the practices of hegemonic power that her domesticity represents. The revolt of Peter and the Lost Boys breaks the colonial ambivalence that creeps into the text, reminding Wendy that her mission is not to create an England in Neverland, but to bring the boys back home.

Until this point, the ambivalence that necessitates colonial power reproducing itself is gradually felt through Wendy's experience on the island. She enjoys herself entirely too much as Coats observes, suggesting that 'this sort of excitement is exhilarating at first, but it induces a careless forgetfulness and irresponsibility to others that Wendy finds disturbing'.[14] The narrator alerts the reader to the danger of this by noting that 'Wendy did not really worry about her mother and father […] what did disturb her at times was that John remembered his parents vaguely only, as people he had once known, while Michael was quite willing to believe that she was really his mother' (91). She is frightened enough of this to begin giving her brothers examinations to force them to remember home, but as the narrator points out, 'By the way, the questions were all written in past tense. What was the colour of Mother's eyes, and so on. Wendy, you see, had been forgetting too' (91). When Peter rejects his role, Wendy is reminded that she is not meant to reside permanently in Neverland.

Wendy reclaims power by using the story of the Darling nursery to lure the Lost Boys back to London. Hearing her heartwarming tale of family reunions, the boys clamour to go with her and Wendy replies, '"Dear ones, if you will all come with me I feel almost sure I can get my father and mother to adopt you"' (130). Thanks to Wendy's charmingly domestic story, British fervor is perfectly replicated in John, Michael, and the Lost Boys, the proof of which comes after Hook captures them. Though offered positions as cabin boys in exchange for renouncing allegiance to King George, the boys unanimously prefer death to committing an unpatriotic act against the crown and Empire. The boys steadfastly refuse, shouting, 'Rule Britannia!' (152). After Wendy tells them 'I feel that I have a message from your real mothers, and it is this: "We hope our sons will die like English gentlemen"' (152) the boys are awed and all profess to do 'What my mother hopes' (152). Once the boys fully espouse loyalty to the British Empire, Wendy brings them into the domestic sphere where they are converted into English subjects

thanks to the mothering of Mrs Darling. The narrator attests once again to the colonising power of Mrs Darling/Wendy by noting that all the boys cast off their former identities to become perfect Englishmen:

> You may see the twins and Nibs and Curly any day going to an office, each carrying a little bag and an umbrella. Michael is an engine driver. You see that judge in a wig coming out at the iron door? That used to be Tootles. The bearded man who doesn't know any story to tell his children was once John (181).

By growing up and embracing their Britishness, the boys become strangers to themselves and the readers, who have to be told by the narrator that these were once the 'savage' Lost Boys. Though Wendy does not succeed in transforming Peter herself, she establishes a permanent domestic colonising presence in Never Land through her female progeny, leaving open the possibility that one of them might succeed where she failed. In the novel's finale, the narrator notes that the cycle Wendy establishes 'will go on, so long as children are gay and innocent and heartless' (187). Since Barrie's text indicates that children's nature remains unchanged, Wendy's power as coloniser is solidified and reaffirmed. Though Peter manages to question English colonial authority, in the end even he bows to its power by accepting the inevitability of a British matriarchal lineage.

Given the extent to which Barrie infused the *Peter Pan* story with people, places, and situations from his own life, it is nearly impossible to avoid analysing the work without reading it through the lens of his biography, a fact which Barrie himself in some way acknowledged but which has often proved controversial and tendentious. For instance, in the dedication to the Peter Pan stage play, Barrie admitted that the little washing house at the entrance to his hometown 'is not only the theatre of my first play, but still has a closer connection to Peter. It is the original of the little house the Lost Boys built in the Never Land for Wendy, the chief difference being that it never wore John's tall hat as a chimney' (78). Barrie also owed the inspiration for Peter's character to the Llewelyn Davies boys,[15] from whom he 'made Peter by rubbing the five of you violently together, as savages with

two sticks produce a flame. That is all he is, the spark I got from you' (75). When attempting to understand the extent to which ideas of childhood and domesticity are embodied in Wendy and Mrs Darling, it is difficult not to see a reflection of Barrie's own feelings about his childhood and his mother, Margaret Ogilvy.

In 1841 Margaret – the twenty-one-year-old daughter of a stonemason – married David Barrie, a weaver who was six years her senior. In keeping with Scottish tradition, she retained her maiden name, but agreed to follow her husband's kirk which was a sect of the Church of Scotland called the Free Church.[16] In 1843, Free Church members broke from the Church of Scotland in protest at the latter's system of patronage and the state's increased interference in religious doctrine. Though Margaret joined her husband's church, she remained loyal to the tenets of the Auld Licht church sect from which she hailed. One of the most rigid of the Scottish Presbyterian factions, the Auld Lichts believed that their worship must be conducted entirely free of material possessions and anything that did not reflect devotion to God.

In Margaret's hands, Barrie's upbringing not only reflected the 'protestant work ethic' but 'a fervent belief in Education [that] was a powerful force in Scotland and set the tone in many families such as David and Margaret Barrie's'.[17] Most of the cottages surrounding the main square in Kirriemuir were one storey and could generally be defined a 'but and ben – the "but" being the kitchen with maybe a little room as a bedroom or sitting room'.[18] Thanks to David's industriousness, the family home was larger than normal, with two downstairs rooms – one for David's loom[19] while the other was a living room – and a kitchen and bedroom upstairs. Nonetheless, this still meant that the family of ten lived in relatively small quarters. Despite hardship, Margaret managed to make the home comfortable and to see that all of her children received good educations. The character of Mrs Darling therefore seems partly indebted to Margaret Ogilvy for inspiration, particularly the skill with which she creates a beautiful nursery for her children despite their family's relatively impoverished state. Barrie notes that the nursery would have been 'a shabby little room if Mrs Darling had not made it the hub of creation by her certainty that such it was, and adorned

it to match with a loving heart and all the scrapings of her purse …' (87). The sheer force of will with which Mrs Darling channels creativity is reminiscent of Barrie's mother. The tales of how Margaret 'would carry her father's dinner to the distant places where he was at work, how she mothered her younger brother, and scrubbed and mended and baked and sewed'[20] also evoke strong images of a motherly child-adult character that appear to inspire Wendy's character and narrative arc. In *Margaret Ogilvy*, Barrie discusses the extent to which his mother's stories shaped his own imaginative process and admits that 'I soon grow tired of writing tales unless I can see a little girl, of whom my mother has told me, wandering confidently through the pages. Such a grip has her memory of her girlhood had upon me since I was a boy of six'.[21] His mother's influence shaped the types of stories that Barrie wanted to tell and, as many biographical readings of *Peter Pan* note, the death of her favourite son, David, provided Barrie with his first real-life example of storytelling's power to shape and alter reality.

When David died after a skating accident, Margaret was inconsolable and confined herself to her bed, clutching David's christening robe. Desperate to stir his mother from her depression, Barrie decided that the best way to help Margaret was to become his deceased brother's doppelganger. In an effort to 'play physician', as he put it, Barrie 'learned [David's] special whistle from boys who had been his comrades, I secretly put on a suit of his clothes, dark grey they were, with little spots […] and thus disguised, I slipped, unknown to the others, into my mother's room'.[22] Barrie did not succeed in making his mother forget David, but he did rouse her from her malaise by convincing her to talk about him. The conviction with which Barrie acted the role of his deceased brother and the sheer determination to change his mother's reality through imaginative play may therefore be mirrored in Mrs Darling and Wendy, whose command of language enables them to create and manipulate both characters and physical space within the story.

Notes

1 *The Little White Bird* (1902) and *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906) are earlier versions of the Peter Pan story. *The Little White Bird* was released serially until Charles Scribner's Sons – Barrie's New York publishers – published it as a novel (Bruce K. Hanson, *The Peter Pan Chronicles: The Nearly 100 Year History of 'The Boy Who Wouldn't Grow up'* (Secaucus: Carol Pub, 1993), p. 24). Following the stage success of *Peter Pan*, Hodder and Stoughton (Barrie's London publishers) republished chapters 13–18 of *The Little White Bird* on 8 December 1906, re-titling it *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (Andrew Birkin, *J. M. Barrie & the Lost Boys* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 45).

2 There is an extensive scholarly literature on the relationship between Scottish and British national identities in the nineteenth century, and the role of empire and imperialism: see, for example, Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London: Pluto, 2000); T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600–1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003); *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* (London: Penguin, 2000), and co.ed with John M. Mackenzie, *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Richard J. Finlay, 'British Empire', in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, edited by Michael Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 44–45 and 'The Rise and Fall of Popular Imperialism in Scotland, 1850–1950', in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 113 (1) (1997): 13–21; Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707 to the Present*, 4th ed, (London: Routledge, 2004); Murray Pittock, *Scottish Nationality* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). See also Douglas Mack, *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

3 The reader is given a couple of early clues that the Darling family is English. In the Act I stage directions Barrie describes Mrs Darling as 'the loveliest lady in Bloomsbury' (89), which tells the reader that the Darlings live not just in England, but in London specifically. Nana's introduction in the novel provides the second clue, as the narrator tells the reader that 'the Darlings had become acquainted with her in Kensington Gardens' (71), a fashionable garden near Hyde Park in London where Barrie first encountered the Llewelyn Davies boys.

4 *Peter Pan and Other Plays*, edited by Peter Hollindale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 87. Unless otherwise stated, all subsequent parenthetical in-text citations are to this edition. References to *Peter and Wendy* are taken from *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens; and, Peter and Wendy*, edited by Peter Hollindale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

5 Susan Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians* (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 139.

6 Homi Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders', in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, edited by Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), pp. 1167–83 (p. 1170).

7 Ibid., p. 1171.

8 Ibid., p. 1171.

9 Maria Tatar, 'J. M. Barrie in Neverland: A Biographical Essay', in *The Annotated Peter Pan*, edited by Maria Tatar (New York: Norton, 2011), p. 49.

10 We might presume that he is English, as indicated by the story he tells Wendy of forsaking his parents for Neverland and returning home years later only to find that 'the window was barred, for mother had forgotten all about me, and there was another little

boy sleeping in my bed' (167). Nevertheless, Peter has lived away from England so long that his identity is completely fused with Neverland, which itself is so tightly linked to Peter's movements and emotions that it slumbers when he is gone and awakes upon his return.

11 Ronald D. S. Jack, *The Road to the Never Land: A Reassessment of J. M. Barrie's Dramatic Art* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991), p. 232.

12 As expansion of the middle class in the nineteenth century England enabled more women to remain at home, an ideal of 'true womanhood' that reinforced virtues of piety, submissiveness, and focus on domestic life became popular among middle and upper-class families. This Victorian cult of domesticity reinforced the belief that men and women occupied separate spheres, and that a woman's place was in the home. Susan Steinbach notes that 'domesticity was an idealization of the home. Home was the refuge from the cruelty and rapaciousness of the workplace and the marketplace' (*Understanding the Victorians,* p. 134).

13 Bhabha p. 1175

14 Karen Coats, 'Child-Hating: *Peter Pan* in the Context of Victorian Hatred,' in *J. M. Barrie's Peter Pan In and Out of Time: A Children's Classic at 100*, edited by Donna R. White and C. Anita Tarr (Washington, DC: Scarecrow Pub., 2006), pp. 3–22 (p. 4).

15 George, Jack, Peter, Michael, and Nicholas Llewelyn Davies were the children of Arthur and Sylvia Llewelyn Davies, whom Barrie befriended and later adopted upon the death of their parents. Barrie made up stories and adventures for the boys and recorded them all in a book, which would later be used to create *Peter Pan*.

16 Janet Dunbar, *J. M. Barrie: The Man behind the Image* (Boston: Houghton, 1970), p. 3.

17 Chaney, p. 11.

18 Dunbar, p. 2.

19 Chaney, p. 13.

20 J. M. Barrie, *Margaret Ogilvy* (New York, Scribner, 1896), p. 29.

21 Barrie, p. 43.

22 Barrie, p. 17.

11. 'Staunch little democrat that he was': Humanitarian Sentiment, Social Reform, and Political Idealism in Eleanor Atkinson's *Greyfriars Bobby*

DAVID SALTER

Despite the enduring popularity of *Greyfriars Bobby*, which has been continuously in print since its first publication in 1912, and which has come to assume the status of a children's classic, the novel's American author, Eleanor Atkinson (1863–1942), remains an elusive and critically overlooked figure. An historical novelist, journalist, teacher, and the author of several educational textbooks, it is principally for *Greyfriars Bobby* that Atkinson is remembered today. But, although her fictionalised biography of Bobby – the Edinburgh Skye Terrier who kept loyal vigil at the grave of his master from 1858 until his own death fourteen years later – has appealed to generations of young readers (and has given rise to three Hollywood films), its reputation amongst adult critics of children's literature has not fared so well.[1] Both Atkinson the novelist, and *Greyfriars Bobby* the novel, have been almost completely excluded from the critical literature. There have been no biographies or literary lives of Atkinson; there are no major studies of any of her fictional writings; and there are no entries dedicated either to *Greyfriars Bobby* or to Atkinson in any of the standard children's literature reference works, such as Jack Zipes's definitive four-volume *Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature* (2006).[2]

There are a number of reasons which could account for the disparity between the continuing popularity of *Greyfriars Bobby*, and the critical neglect which has befallen both the novel and its author. In part, Atkinson's poor critical reputation reflects the unevenness of her literary output. While she published a handful of novels during her lifetime, it is only *Greyfriars Bobby* which can really be said to have stood the test of time, and which continues to have a wide readership more than a century after its first appearance.[3] And because *Greyfriars Bobby* is based – however loosely – on

the life of a real dog (who achieved considerable celebrity in his own lifetime), it is probably inevitable that the fame of the author has been eclipsed by the notoriety of her canine subject. Indeed, Bobby's enduring appeal, which exists independently of Atkinson's novel, is evident from the crowds of tourists who can be seen almost every day admiring his statue in front of the entrance to Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh.[4] Moreover, the considerable artistic license which Atkinson allowed herself when recounting Bobby's 'history' has been condemned by those writers – such as Forbes Macgregor and Jan Bondeson – who have sought to uncover the historical facts of the dog's life, arguing that much of Atkinson's narrative is, in Macgregor's words, 'total myth' and, according to Bondeson, 'worthless for the serious historian'.[5] Finally, Atkinson's reputation also suffers because she falls between two national literary traditions, and as a result is difficult to categorise as a writer in conventional, generic terms. As an American author of historical fiction who is best known for a Scottish children's novel (and one which seeks deeply to embed its Scottishness not simply in its Edinburgh setting, but in its use of Scottish dialect and in its tissue of literary and historical allusions), Atkinson resists the straightforward literary canons into which authors are habitually placed by critics, such as the categories of American writer, children's author, journalist, biographer, and historical novelist. And as an American author whose Scottish novel is written at least in part in Scots, Atkinson has also been subject to the condescension, even superciliousness, of those critics from the Scottish side of the Atlantic who highlight the linguistic and topographical errors which occasionally characterise her attempts at verisimilitude.[6]

It is my contention that *Greyfriars Bobby* merits the kind of serious critical attention which it has so far failed to receive. This chapter argues that the novel's lasting popularity cannot be put down either to the poor critical judgement or excessive sentimentality and gullibility of its youthful readership, but rather that it speaks in powerful and compelling ways to what it means to be a child. In the first part of the book, Bobby's youthfulness and childlikeness are repeatedly emphasised, making him an obvious proxy and source of identification for the novel's young readership. In her sympathetic exploration of Bobby's experiences of love, loss, loneliness,

and powerlessness, Atkinson is able to give vivid expression to a child's understanding of, and relationship to, the world. However, as the story develops, Atkinson effects a gradual shift in narrative point of view, as Bobby slowly gives up his role as the novel's subject – the central consciousness from whose perspective the story is narrated – and becomes instead its principal object, who is the recipient of the love and care of an ever-expanding circle of human friends, many of whom are children. Through her artful orchestration of narrative structure, Atkinson seeks to cultivate her readership's capacity for compassion and empathy, first through exploring Bobby's subjectivity – his feelings of love for Auld Jock, his master, and then his bereavement at Jock's death – and then as Bobby himself grows older and becomes more vulnerable, through the many acts of kindness and human generosity which he, in turn, inspires.

The case will, therefore, be argued that Atkinson deploys the well-known story of Greyfriars Bobby not so much to celebrate the dog's loyalty to his master (the moral which was popularly drawn from the legend before the publication of her novel),[7] but rather to use the prism of Bobby's canine experiences to raise questions about human frailty and vulnerability – and ultimately human mortality – in ways which are both accessible to a readership of children, and actively designed to promote amongst that readership the morally informed responses of love, empathy, and compassion.

It will also be argued that Atkinson's vision goes well beyond the realms of personal morality and ethics to encompass ideas about politics and society as well. Like all classic children's novels, *Greyfriars Bobby* operates on a number of different levels, and in her treatment of Auld Jock's poverty, and the lonely and miserable death to which this poverty condemns him, Atkinson raises uncomfortable questions about the nature of class and social justice, questions which, although couched in highly sentimental terms, are nonetheless political in nature. While there is much in the novel which, on the face of it, seems to support notions of social hierarchy and to uphold a conservative political philosophy (for instance, the monarchy and aristocracy, in the persons of Queen Victoria and the philanthropist Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts, are repeatedly praised), nonetheless,

the narrative logic of the story has a strongly democratic impulse. The novel unashamedly champions the cause of the poor and the destitute, of whom Auld Jock and Bobby himself act as representative figures, and while due deference is paid to the hierarchical social order of Victorian Scotland, the moral core of that society resides amongst its most disadvantaged members. For almost the entirety of his adult life, Bobby is selflessly cared for, protected, and loved by the poor children who live in the tenements overlooking Greyfriars kirkyard, as well as by members of the 'respectable' working class and relatively humble tradesmen who make their living in that small corner of Edinburgh's Old Town. Aristocratic philanthropists (Baroness Burdett-Coutts), and upper-middle class social reformers (William Chambers, the publisher and Lord Provost of Edinburgh) do come to play an important part in Bobby's life, but they take their ethical cue from his poor and humble friends. Early in the novel, Atkinson describes Bobby as a 'staunch little democrat', and it is this democratic sentiment – a faith in social solidarity, or as Atkinson later characterises it, 'the world-over story of the poor helping the poor' – which forms the foundation of *Greyfriars Bobby*'s political philosophy.[8]

In exploring these two separate but related aspects of the novel, attention will focus on *Greyfriars Bobby*'s sophisticated narrative strategy, in which Bobby becomes first a representative of the child reader in the world of the novel, only then for his role slowly to change into that of a much loved object of care and concern; a catalyst whose isolation and vulnerability Atkinson uses to promote the sensitivity and moral agency of children. The ways in which Atkinson places Bobby's experience in the broader social and political context of mid-Victorian Edinburgh will also be examined. Edinburgh is almost as much a protagonist of *Greyfriars Bobby* as Bobby himself and the argument here is that, as well as providing a picturesque backdrop to the action, Atkinson uses Edinburgh, in particular its rich literary history and architectural heritage, to articulate an idealistic vision of how a modern, civic, democratic polity can free itself from the shackles of the past – characterised by poverty, squalor, and religious fanaticism – and reform itself in such a way as to promote the genuine well-being of all of its members (including, of course, its dogs).

'A bairn is like a dog in mony ways' (*Greyfriars Bobby*, 66)

As noted, one of the novel's abiding concerns is Bobby's relationship to Edinburgh, and in particular his relationship to the urban milieu of the Old Town, in which – after the death of Auld Jock – he spends the remainder of his life. Atkinson anticipates the importance of *Greyfriars Bobby*'s Edinburgh setting in the novel's very opening paragraph, where Bobby is not just framed by the architectural and topographical grandeur of the city, but is presented in dynamic relationship to it:

> When the time-gun boomed from Edinburgh Castle, Bobby gave a startled yelp. He was only a little country dog – the very youngest and smallest and shaggiest of Skye terriers – bred on a heathery slope of the Pentland hills, where the loudest sound was the bark of a collie or the tinkle of a sheep bell. That morning he had come to the weekly market with Auld Jock, a farm labourer, and the Grassmarket of the Scottish capital lay in the narrow valley at the southern base of Castle Crag. Two hundred feet above it the time-gun was mounted in the half-moon battery on an overhanging, crescent-shaped ledge of rock. In any part of the city the report of the one-o' clock gun was sufficiently alarming, but in the Grassmarket it was an earth-rending explosion directly overhead. It needed to be heard but once there to be registered on even a little dog's brain. Bobby had heard it many times, and he never failed to yelp a sharp protest at the outrage to his ears; but, as the gunshot was always followed by a certain happy event, it started in his active little mind a train of pleasant associations. (1)

Perhaps the first thing to observe here is the way in which Bobby's child-like qualities are repeatedly emphasised. Atkinson draws attention to his young age and diminutive stature, as well as to the fact that he is rather out of his element in Edinburgh and has not yet learnt to control his responses to the sound of the one o'clock gun, despite having 'heard it many times'. From the novel's very outset, then, Bobby's role as a child surrogate or substitute is signalled; and his child-like nature is seen not simply to be a function of his small size, but is manifest in his character as well. Atkinson

makes us aware that like the book's youthful readers, he is still in the process of growing up and developing; he is at times overwhelmed by his immediate environment, and is not fully in command of himself, as even the most habitual of occurrences can elicit a yelp of protest from him.

What is also of significance in this opening passage is its depiction of Edinburgh. On one level, Atkinson might be understood as portraying a kind of picture postcard, tourist image of the city. Indeed, there are many instances in the novel where Atkinson presents her American readership with a vision of a fairy-tale city of castles and cathedrals, populated by exotic inhabitants with quaint habits and customs. However, although its picturesque setting undoubtedly was – and still remains – part of *Greyfriars Bobby*'s appeal, there is more to Atkinson's representation of Edinburgh than its 'old world' charm. It is striking that the opening impression which Atkinson creates of Edinburgh is a slightly sinister one. The city is first glimpsed from the perspective of its surrounding countryside, and the pastoral image of 'the Pentland hills, where the loudest sound was the bark of a collie or the tinkle of a sheep bell' (1) sets up the archetypal opposition between the natural, organic landscape of Bobby's rural birthplace, and the hard and imposing urban environment of Edinburgh.[9] In this opening passage, the castle looms rather menacingly over the Grassmarket, and although Atkinson subsequently reassures us that a happy event for Bobby always follows the firing of the one o'clock gun (he is taken off to lunch at 'Ye Olde Greyfriars Dining-rooms' where he is given a bone by the proprietor, Mr Traill), we are nonetheless told that Bobby experiences the gun's thunderous report as 'an outrage' (1).[10] And this threatening atmosphere which tempers the city's architectural splendour is further hinted at in the next paragraph, when we are told that 'the Grassmarket of Edinburgh was still a bit of the Middle Ages, as picturesquely decaying and Gothic as German Nuremberg' (2).[11]

What we see in *Greyfriars Bobby*, and particularly in its earliest chapters, is that the city of Edinburgh is treated with a good deal of ambivalence, reflecting an attitude which is simultaneously distrustful of, yet fascinated by, its gothic, medieval heritage. Of course, on the narrative level, this ambivalence makes good generic sense. *Greyfriars Bobby* contains elements of the children's adventure story, and true to generic type, Atkinson presents

Edinburgh as Bobby's testing ground, where he is confronted by, and successfully overcomes, a series of dangerous and exciting escapades. (The occasion of greatest danger for Bobby is when he finds himself trapped at night in the castle, and desperate to return to Greyfriars kirkyard, and Auld Jock's grave, he tumbles two hundred feet down Castle Rock.)[12] But the distrustful attitude which Atkinson fosters towards the city also has a broader thematic, even political resonance. She sees much of Edinburgh's Old Town as dark, backward, squalid, and poverty stricken (like the Grassmarket, which as we have seen, is still mired in the Middle Ages). For instance, the Cowgate (which adjoins the Grassmarket), is described as the 'black hole of Edinburgh'; a dangerous and foul-smelling haunt populated by 'thousands of criminals, beggars, and the miserably poor and degraded of many nationalities' (36, 37).

Running in tandem with Atkinson's biographical account of Bobby's experiences of life in Edinburgh is a socio-political commentary which explores the harmful effects of the city on its inhabitants, and the ways in which slum-dwelling exacerbates and compounds human – and, of course, canine – misery and suffering. But the corollary of this indictment of the poor social conditions of mid-nineteenth-century Edinburgh is a belief in the ameliorating power of humane and enlightened urban planning. As Bobby's life becomes more stable and his personal circumstances improve, so the process of slum clearance and urban development in Edinburgh gets underway. By connecting Bobby's personal fate with this wider movement for social change, Atkinson invests the dog with symbolic significance, so that when his commemorative statue is finally unveiled at the end of the novel, it comes to stand as a monument not just to Bobby, but to Edinburgh itself, and the enlightened manner in which the city organises its civic life and manages its social housing. But before this movement for political reform can take effect, we see in the opening chapters that the city is the site of Bobby and Auld Jock's suffering, and it is perhaps no coincidence that it is in the medieval environs of the Grassmarket (with all of that adjective's sinister connotations of ignorance and 'superstition'), where Bobby is first confronted by the harsh realities of Victorian society, and its indifference to the plight of the poor.

The passage below is worth quoting at length because it offers an excellent example of how Atkinson brings the emotional register of *Greyfriars Bobby* into alignment with its social and political concerns. For the first time in the novel, we see how Atkinson is able to deploy Bobby's canine nature – his faithfulness, trust, spontaneity, and ingenuousness – not just as a means of eliciting sympathy and generating emotion and excitement, but as a way of raising questions about how human society treats its poorest and most vulnerable members. Unknown to Bobby, Auld Jock has been dismissed from his post as a shepherd, not through any fault of his own, but because old age and infirmity render him of no further service to his employer. So, in the midst of a Scottish winter, and with the merest pittance to sustain him, Auld Jock has to fend for himself. All Bobby knows at this stage, however, is that Auld Jock is no longer on the farm, so the young dog leaves the comforts and security of home and travels alone to Edinburgh to search for his companion. Keeping her readers ignorant of Auld Jock's whereabouts, Atkinson presents the unfolding sequence of events from Bobby's point of view. As a result, her readers share first in Bobby's growing sense of panic as he searches the increasingly dark and forbidding streets of Edinburgh's Old Town, and then in his bewilderment when he eventually finds Auld Jock sleeping in an obscure alleyway leading off from the Grassmarket:

> For, all at once, in the very strangest place, in the very strangest way, Bobby came upon Auld Jock. A rat, scurrying out from a foul and narrow passage that gave to the rear of the White Hart Inn, pointed the little dog to a nook hitherto undiscovered by his curious nose. Hidden away between the noisy tavern and the grim, island crag was the old cock-fighting pit of a ruder day. There, in a broken-down carrier's cart, abandoned among the nameless abominations of public-house refuse, Auld Jock lay huddled in his great-coat of hodden grey and his shepherd's plaid. On a bundle of clothing tied in a tartan kerchief for a pillow, he lay very still and breathing heavily.
>
> Bobby barked as if he would burst his lungs. He barked so long, so loud, and so furiously, running round and round the cart and under it and yelping at every turn, that a slatternly scullery-maid

> opened a door and angrily bade him "no' to deave [deafen] folk wi' 'is blatterin [chatter, din]". Auld Jock she did not see at all in the murky pit or, if she saw him, thought him some drunken foreign sailor from Leith harbour. When she went in, she slammed the door and lighted the gas.
>
> Whether from some instinct of protection for his helpless master in that foul and hostile place, or because barking had proved to be of no use, Bobby sat back on his haunches and considered this strange, disquieting thing. It was not like Auld Jock to sleep in the daytime, or so soundly, at any time, that barking would not awaken him. A clever and resourceful dog, Bobby crouched back against the farthest wall, took a running leap to the top of the low boots, dug his claws into the stout, home-knitted stockings, and scrambled up over Auld Jock's legs into the cart. In an instant he poked his little black mop of a wet muzzle into his master's face and barked once, sharply, in his ear.
>
> To Bobby's delight Auld Jock sat up and blinked his eyes. The old eyes were brighter, the grizzled face was redder than was natural, but such matters were quite outside of the little dog's ken. (12–13) [*Atkinson herself glossed the two dialect words, her practice throughout the novel.*]

The complex of emotions which Atkinson is eliciting in her readers here – from suspense and anxiety through to empathy and compassion – would seem to have a clear end or goal in view: to provoke a sense of moral outrage at the degradation and indignity to which Auld Jock has been reduced, as well as drawing out feelings not just of pity for his plight, but of bewilderment at the speed with which he has fallen into this state. Up until this moment, there has been nothing from Atkinson to suggest that the novel would be taking such a dramatic turn in its narrative trajectory. The reader is plunged suddenly and without warning into the filth and squalor of 'that foul and hostile place', so the sense of shock and disorientation at what has happened to Auld Jock is reflected and compounded by the unexpected change in the language, tone, and immediate setting of the story itself.

Although they are not explicitly stated, the political implications of the scene are clear and unambiguous. Auld Jock, lying in a rat-infested passage surrounded by 'the nameless abominations of public-house refuse', has been both literally and figuratively consigned to the scrapheap, and the description of the 'slatternly scullery-maid', angrily closing the door on Bobby, symbolises society's hostility to the needy and the destitute. In the space of just a few hours, and for reasons which Bobby cannot understand, Auld Jock's status has been transformed from what Atkinson earlier characterises as one of the 'decent poor' (5) into a social outcast, whose appearance resembles 'some drunken foreign sailor from Leith harbour'. In the absence of a social safety net, the terrifying speed with which someone can fall from a position of respectability into vagrancy – particularly a figure as deserving of protection and love as Auld Jock – therefore stands as a powerful comment on the precariousness and instability of life in Victorian Edinburgh.[13]

The protest which Atkinson is making against the inhumane social conditions experienced by Edinburgh's poor is further developed and refined by the prominence which she gives to feelings of strangeness and uncertainty in the passage. It is striking that the superlative adjective 'strangest' is repeated in the first sentence of the extract, and as Bobby contemplates the unconscious, prostrate body of Auld Jock, the situation which he faces is described as a 'strange, disquieting thing', which we are subsequently told is 'quite outside of the little dog's ken'. By presenting the scene from Bobby's point of view, and mediating the narrative sequence through his senses, Atkinson is not just able to ratchet up the suspense by aligning her readers' perspective with that of the confused and frightened young dog, she also heightens her readers' moral and emotional sensitivity to the image of a poor, drunk, and destitute old man; an image to which it is all too easy – as the reaction of the unsympathetic scullery maid makes clear – to respond with either active hostility or indifference. Bobby fulfils the role of moral gauge or arbiter for the reader in this scene, precisely because he is a dog, and perceives the world through the filter of his canine consciousness. Although Bobby's bewilderment reflects his ignorance of human society, Atkinson is suggesting that his sense of confusion is in fact the correct response to Auld Jock's predicament, for the way in which human society

treats its most vulnerable members renders it unnatural and morally incomprehensible. Atkinson implies that, like Bobby, we should not simply accept as either normal or inevitable the fact that workers are abandoned, and consequently collapse into penury, once they have come to the end of their productive, working lives; rather, we should see this as a 'strange' and 'disquieting' phenomenon.

It is Bobby's innocence, then, which allows the scene to be presented with such moral clarity, and it is his love for Auld Jock (which he gives totally without reserve) which renders the episode so emotionally forceful. Of course, these are typically child-like attributes which Bobby displays, making him a particularly strong source of emotional identification for the child reader. Bobby's inability to comprehend Auld Jock's change in fortunes, and his powerlessness materially to assist Auld Jock's plight, similarly resonate with the difficulty a child experiences in both understanding and acting in the adult world. But, while Bobby lacks the means of rescuing Auld Jock, his powerlessness is not a counsel of despair. Atkinson reassures her child readership that in desperate circumstances such as these, the simple act of remaining steadfast in our loyalty to the person we love is of immeasurable value. For Atkinson goes on to recount that Bobby intuited 'that his master had unusual need of love'; a love which the little dog expresses by snuggling 'into the hollow of his master's arm and [nuzzling] his nose in his master's neck' (15).

In this scene, Bobby acts as a moral beacon to the book's child readership through his display of courage and loving faithfulness in the face of such frightening circumstances. But as the narrative unfolds after Auld Jock's death, it is striking that he passes on the role of moral champion to the novel's child protagonists, while he himself becomes the beneficiary of their loving care and protection. This is most clearly illustrated in an extended narrative sequence which is based on one of the historically attested episodes of Bobby's life: the payment of his dog licence by the Lord Provost, William Chambers.[14] In Atkinson's fictionalised and highly sentimental re-imagining of this scene, the poor children living in the slum tenements surrounding Greyfriars kirkyard hear that Bobby is in mortal danger because he has no owner to pay for his dog licence, and so is liable to be put down by the

municipal authorities as an unwanted stray. Indifferent to their own grinding poverty, and willing to sacrifice what slender pittance they have to save their beloved dog, the children, led by one of the tenement girls, Ailie Lindsey, along with her disabled friend, Tammy Barr, decide to pool their meagre resources, eventually raising – what to them – is the almost unimaginable sum of seven shillings required to meet the cost of the licence:

> Seven shullings! It was an enormous sum to the tenement bairn, whose half-blind grandmother knitted and knitted in a dimly lighted room, and hoarded halfpennies and farthings to save herself from pauper burial. Seven shullings would pay a month's rent for any one of the crowded rooms in which a family lived. […] Seven shullings to permit one little dog to live! It did not occur to Ailie that this was a sum Mr Traill [the proprietor of the Greyfriars Dining-rooms] could easily pay. No' onybody at all had seven shullings all at once! But, oh! everybody had pennies and halfpennies and farthings, and she and Tammy together had a sixpence. […]
>
> 'Bide a wee, Ailie!' cried one, running to overtake the lassie. 'Here's a penny. I was gangin' for the milk for the porridge. We can do wi'oot the day.'
>
> And there was money for the broth bone, and the farthing that would have filled the gudeman's evening pipe, and the ha'penny for the grandmither's tea. […] The progress of Ailie and Tammy was like that of the piper through Hamelin. The children gathered and gathered, and followed at their heels, until a curiously quiet mob of three-score or more crouched in the court of the old hall of the Knights of St John, in the Grassmarket, to count the many copper coins in Tammy's woollen bonnet. (167, 170)

Although the sentimentality of this description might seem rather cloying to twenty-first-century tastes, the emotionally heightened tone is designed to advance serious social and political concerns. The selflessness of the children's actions, their sense of social solidarity, and their defence, through mutual support and co-operation, of Bobby, the poorest and most marginal

member of their social group, all suggest that society should be ordered along egalitarian – even broadly socialist – lines. This vision of social support and inclusiveness is the antithesis of the *laissez faire* economic model which consigned Auld Jock to poverty and an early grave. These two episodes seem almost designed to stand in opposition to one another, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the children count the money they have raised for Bobby's licence in the Grassmarket; the very location of Auld Jock's collapse into destitution, thus bringing into particularly sharp relief this sense of contrast. The scene with the children reaches its climax in the somewhat implausible setting of St Giles' Cathedral (a clear gesture on Atkinson's part to the almost sacramental nature of the children's actions). Here, in the presence of William Chambers, the Lord Provost, the children deposit the seven shillings for Bobby's licence as an 'offering of love and mercy at the foot of an altar'. And recognising that 'a sacred kirk was the very best place of all to settle this little dog's affairs', William Chambers carries Bobby with him into the pulpit, and shows the children the collar which he had arranged to be made for the dog. (179).

As noted above, this episode is very loosely based on the historical record. William Chambers did indeed pay for Bobby's licence, and he gave the dog a collar to attest to this fact, but the involvement of the slum children in the affair, and the ceremonial 'unveiling' of Bobby's collar in St Giles' Cathedral, with all of its atmosphere of a religious rite, is pure invention. However, while the scene's fanciful setting and overwrought emotional tone might tend to discredit it in the eyes of the twenty-first-century reader, its sentimentality is designed to serve a serious political end. Atkinson gives her child characters moral and political agency, and their actions are exemplary in the sense that they offer a remarkably modern blueprint for how a decent society should arrange its affairs. (As we have seen, the children are resourceful and self-reliant, the society into which they organise themselves is diverse, inclusive, and egalitarian, and they are willing to pool their resources and sacrifice their individual interests to defend the vulnerable and to promote the greater good.) In addition, Atkinson persistently associates children with the movement for social and political reform, which

she intimates will have the effect of liberating Edinburgh's citizens from the oppressive practices and backward-looking attitudes to which Auld Jock was victim. Thus, both inspired by the children's sacrifice and shamed by their poverty, Atkinson has William Chambers resolve in St Giles's Cathedral to redouble his efforts to introduce modern, sanitary living conditions for the poor by clearing the Old Town of its slums:

> But the Lord Provost was gazing at that crowd of pale bairns, product of the Old Town's ancient slums, and feeling, in his own person, the civic shame of it. And he was thinking, thinking, that he must hasten that other project nearest his heart, of knocking holes in the solid rows of foul cliffs, in the Cowgate, on High Street, and around Greyfriars. It was an incredible thing that such a flower of affection should have bloomed so sweetly in such sunless cells. (180)

In the entry for William Chambers in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sondra Miley Cooney notes that Chambers devoted his time in office as Lord Provost to this work of urban improvement, which cost a quarter of million pounds, and which saw the removal of 2,800 slum dwellings from the Old Town immediately to the south of the High Street. And the mark which Chambers left on the city can still be seen in the broad boulevard of Chambers Street itself – named in his honour – which runs parallel to the High Street, which has a statue of the Lord Provost in recognition of his achievements, and opposite whose western end is positioned Bobby's iconic statue.[15]

Through a novelistic sleight of hand, Atkinson uses the figure of William Chambers to link the legend of Greyfriars Bobby, the dog who loyally kept vigil for fourteen years at his dead master's grave, with the altogether distinct history of Edinburgh's social reform and urban renewal. Chambers was the driving force behind Edinburgh's slum clearance, and he played a very minor role in Bobby's life, but his fortuitous involvement in both of these narratives allows Atkinson to transform Bobby's story into a political fable, and to invest it with a symbolic significance which the dog's human

contemporaries would surely not have recognised. So, we see in the novel that Bobby is at first a witness to the indifference with which Victorian society discards its poorest and most vulnerable members, and we count the toll in human (and animal) suffering which this neglect produces. But over the following years, Bobby experiences a reversal of fortune which parallels the broader changes which are overtaking society at large. He benefits from the modern, more compassionate social attitudes – the 'new gospel' in Chambers' words – which nurtures, protects, and loves those like Bobby who are most in need of care (180).

Greyfriars Bobby therefore adopts something of a Janus-faced attitude towards history. It tends to view the past with suspicion, and to see it as a source of ignorance, squalor, and cruelty, while it looks with optimism to the future, investing its hope in children such as Ailie and Tammy, whose actions point the way out of Edinburgh's dark and dank slums, into the light and clean air of a fairer and more compassionate world.

Greyfriars Bobby and history

Almost at the mid-point in the novel, at a time when Bobby is already a long-established resident of Greyfriars Kirkyard, he sets off one summer Saturday afternoon for a long ramble across Edinburgh with a group of local boys. The description of their afternoon's outing, which takes in many of the city's most popular and picturesque sites, gives Atkinson the opportunity to move out of the claustrophobic milieu of the Old Town to portray some of the distinctive topographical and architectural features of Edinburgh's varied landscape. For Bobby and his friends, this afternoon jaunt represents a moment of relief and release; although they remain within the confines of the city of Edinburgh and the Port of Leith, the city's geography allows them to immerse themselves in the natural world, as their journey encompasses a walk along a wooded riverbank down to the seashore, over an extinct volcano to a loch, and past a castle and a royal palace.

As well as providing her readers with descriptions of many of Edinburgh's best-known tourist attractions, Atkinson uses this foray across the city to explore Scotland's history, and to reflect on how it shapes and fuels the

boys' imaginations. Commenting on the hold which the historical past exerts on the boys, and the ways in which it seems tangibly present in the very terrain over which they wander, Atkinson notes that: 'Edinburgh laddies live in a city of romantic history, of soldiers, of near-by mountains, and of sea-rovings' (129), and the period of history to which not only these particular boys, but the novel more generally, repeatedly return is the violent religious conflict of the late seventeenth century. Although two hundred years separate Bobby from the so-called 'Killing Time', when the newly restored regime of Charles II brutally suppressed the armed uprising of the Covenanters – the radical protestant sect which opposed Charles' imposition of bishops on the Scottish Presbyterian church – the novel's protagonists are frequently reminded, and remind themselves, of its savagery and bitterness. Even in the one short afternoon in which the boys wander across the city, they revisit this historical moment in their games, imagining themselves first in 'the hiding place of a harried Covenanter fleeing religious persecution'; and then later on, when they re-enact a scene of religious recantation, casting Bobby in the role of a covenanting minister 'required to take the oath of loyalty to English King and Church on pain of being hanged in the Grassmarket' (129, 130).

The reasons why Atkinson makes so much of this violent history of religious strife and persecution are not difficult to fathom. Over the course of the seventeenth century, Greyfriars itself played a leading, and at times infamous, role in the story of the Covenanters and their bloody suppression.[16] The National Covenant (from which the Covenanters took their name) was read from Greyfriars pulpit on 28 February 1638, and then signed by the assembled members of the nobility and gentry present in the church. After the Battle of Bothwell Brig in 1679, when the Covenanters were defeated by the Duke of Monmouth (Charles II's illegitimate son), more than a thousand prisoners were held in a field adjoining Greyfriars Kirkyard, where they faced the stark choice (re-enacted in play by Bobby and the boys), of execution or recantation. Although Bobby himself obviously remains blissfully unaware of his home's turbulent history, and despite its remoteness in time, the novel nonetheless keenly registers the continuing presence of that

past, which is absorbed into the daily rhythms and routines of the community which live around Greyfriars Kirk. Thus, before departing from the Kirkyard for their walk across Edinburgh, the boys dare one another to approach the mausoleum of Sir George Mackenzie (popularly known as 'Bluidy Mackenzie' for his role in prosecuting the Covenanters), and to call on 'the auld hornie [devil] to come out' of his tomb (124). Considerably earlier in the narrative, immediately after Auld Jock's funeral, Mr Traill along with Mr Brown, the caretaker of Greyfriars, search for Bobby in the kirkyard, circling around the 'monument to all the martyrs who had died heroically, in the Grassmarket and elsewhere, for their faith' (63–64). So, within one graveyard, a memorial to those who died for their religious beliefs stands in close proximity to the grave of the man who bears much of the responsibility for their mass killing.

These reminders of Scotland's turbulent history of violent religious conflict are entirely of a piece with the novel's attitude to the past more generally which, as we have noted, is consistently viewed with suspicion, and characterised in terms of its cruelty and ignorance. Just as we have seen elsewhere in *Greyfriars Bobby*, here the callousness of the past is contrasted with the optimistic and progressive spirit of the soon-to-be realised future. Through the actions of Bobby and the children, the dark monuments to the 'Killing Time' are transformed into emblems of hope for a more just and compassionate world. This is most tangibly evident in the scene in which Greyfriars kirkyard itself comes to serve as 'a study' for Bobby's disabled young friend, wee Tammy Barr, who despite his humble origins has ambitions to become a schoolteacher. A resident of the 'lowest, darkest floor' of one of the tenements immediately overlooking Greyfriars, Tammy uses the graveyard as a schoolroom by utilising a grave as a desk, and in the process he transforms a memorial to Scotland's tragic past into an object of individual self-improvement, which at the same time can be read as a broader symbol of social progress:

> From a window [Tammy] dropped his books and his crutches over the wall. Then, by clasping his arms round a broken shaft that blocked the casement, he swung himself out, and scrambled down into an

> enclosed vault-yard. There he kept hidden Mistress Jeanie's milking stool for a seat; and a table-tomb served as well for the laddie to do his sums upon, as it had for the tearful signing of the Covenant more than two hundred years before. (160)

A somewhat utopian vision of Greyfriars kirkyard therefore emerges towards the end of the novel, as the 'new gospel' which Atkinson has William Chambers speak of from the pulpit in St Giles' Cathedral – an ethos which is concerned not with dogma but with the care of the poor, the alleviation of their suffering, and the nurturing of their talents – comes to displace the old forms of religious allegiance. And for Atkinson, this shift in values is reflected in the changing ways in which the people of Edinburgh choose to memorialise their society. For in the novel's final pages, Chambers' new gospel is commemorated in the statue which is erected to Bobby opposite the entrance of Greyfriars kirkyard. This is a memorial which, for Atkinson, pays tribute to the generosity and benevolence of Bobby's human well-wishers, as much as it celebrates the life of Bobby himself. This monument comes to supplant the Covenanter graves in public consciousness and esteem, signalling a decisive rejection of the ignorance and extremism of the past, in favour of the modern ideals of compassion and social inclusion.

As we have seen, *Greyfriars Bobby* concludes with the unveiling of Bobby's statue, in a ceremony which took place in November 1873, one year after Bobby's death, and fifteen years after he first took up residence in Greyfriars Kirkyard. As Atkinson's account recognises, the statue was actually paid for by the aristocratic philanthropist, Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts. The dedication which is inscribed in the statue's marble base (which Atkinson does not record) gives an indication of the motive which lay behind Burdett-Coutts' original decision to commission it:

> A tribute to the affectionate fidelity of Greyfriars Bobby. In 1858 this faithful dog followed the remains of his master to Greyfriars Churchyard and lingered near the spot until his death in 1872. With permission, erected by Baroness Burdett-Coutts.[17]

It is striking that although Atkinson brings Angela Burdett-Coutts into her narrative and acknowledges the important part she played in the public commemoration of Bobby's life, there is a subtle but nonetheless important difference in how the two women choose to remember, and celebrate, the dog's life. For whereas Burdett-Coutts frames Bobby's relationship to Auld Jock in fundamentally hierarchical terms, invoking the conventional metaphor of the canine servant who owes an obligation of fidelity to his human master, Atkinson focuses not so much on Bobby's faithfulness, but on his love. It is love which drives Bobby from his comfortable and secure home in the Pentland hills to share Auld Jock's precarious life of poverty and squalor in Edinburgh, and it is this same love which keeps Bobby in Greyfriars Kirkyard for fourteen years, despite the many inducements he is offered to move to more comfortable surroundings. Similarly, it is love, along with its close companion, compassion, which together motivate Bobby's many human friends to care for, protect, and ultimately commemorate him.

This shift in emphasis from faithfulness to love helps to account for the political subtexts of the novel as well. The story of Greyfriars Bobby which Atkinson inherited was one which, in praising a dog's loyalty to his master, was readily allegorised as a celebration of deference and hierarchy.[18] Atkinson's novel, on the other hand, emphasises not the obligations which the humble owe their social superiors, but society's collective moral responsibility to care for all of its members. She seeks to cultivate the moral sensitivity of her child readership by eliciting sympathy for the plight of the vulnerable, as well as developing the moral and political agency of her readers by showing the power and effectiveness of collective action, and the dire consequences which ensue from inaction. The statue of Bobby on George IV Bridge which was commissioned by Angela Burdett-Coutts presents its subject in isolation: he is a solitary figure separated from the human world by loss. But in her novel, Atkinson restores to this image the community which took upon itself the task of caring for a dog who was unable to look after himself. In the process, Atkinson radically recasts the story of Greyfriars Bobby. Bobby's singular devotion to Auld Jock, while recognised as heroic,

is no longer the sole, or even the primary, object of attention. Rather, Bobby's isolation and vulnerability make moral demands on the human community into which he is gradually absorbed. The story of the loving and compassionate response of that community is presented as a political fable, which illustrates the ways in which an ideal human society should organise itself – and deploy its resources – to meet the needs of all its members, including, of course, its dogs.

Notes

1 *Greyfriars Bobby*'s status as a children's classic is attested by its inclusion in 1994 in the 'Puffin Classics' series – the children's imprint of Penguin Books – in which it has remained ever since. (The novel was first published by Puffin in 1962.) The three films which are based on Atkinson's novel are: Walt Disney's *Greyfriars Bobby: The True Story of a Dog* (1961), directed by Don Chaffey; *The Adventures of Greyfriars Bobby* (2005), directed by John Henderson; and *The Challenge of Lassie* (1949), directed by Richard Thorpe, which despite its misleading title is a reasonably faithful adaptation of Atkinson's story; it substitutes Lassie, the Rough Collie, for the Skye Terrier, Bobby, reflecting the contemporary vogue for Lassie after the great popular success of *Lassie Come Home* (1943). On the film adaptations of *Greyfriars Bobby*, see Jan Bondeson, *Amazing Dogs: A Cabinet of Canine Curiosities* (Stroud: Amberley, 2003), pp. 136–138, and Jan Bondeson, *Greyfriars Bobby: The Most Faithful Dog in the World* (Sroud: Amberley, 2011), pp. 85–91.

2 The only serious study of Atkinson's writing (at least which I have been able to find), is an essay on her work as an investigative journalist for the *Chicago Daily Tribune* from 1888 to 1890, where she wrote under the pseudonym of Nora Marks. It is interesting to note that more than two decades before writing *Greyfriars Bobby*, Atkinson's brief career in campaigning journalism (she worked undercover to expose the poor working conditions of female domestic servants in Chicago), was animated by a concern for the poor and a desire for social reform: the same impulses which – as argued here – inform much of the political commentary in *Greyfriars Bobby*. See Francis L. Lederer II, 'Nora Marks, Investigative Reporter', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 68 (1975), 306–18. Jan Bondeson devotes a chapter to Atkinson's novel in his *Greyfriars Bobby*, pp. 68–84, although he is more concerned with highlighting the novel's shortcomings as a factual, historical account of Bobby's life than in assessing its qualities as a work of children's fiction. But Bondeson includes a helpful biographical sketch of Atkinson, pp. 69–70, and p. 76. See also Melanie Wentz, *Once Upon a Time in Great Britain: A Travel Guide to the Sights and Settings of Your Favourite Children's Stories* (New York: St Martin's Griffin, 2002), pp. 214–215. There is a short discussion of the novel in James Alison and Ronald Renton, ed., *Treasure Islands: A Guide to Scottish Fiction for Readers Aged 10–14* (Glasgow: ASLS, 2003), p. 9. Among the standard guides to children's literature which fail to make reference either to Atkinson or to *Greyfriars Bobby*, in addition to Jack Zipes's four-volume *Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2006), are Daniel Hahn (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Victor Watson (ed.), *The Cambridge Guide to Children's Books in English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Laura Standley Berger, *Twentieth-Century Children's Writers* (Detroit and London: St James Press, 1995); and Anne Commire, Adele Sarkissian, and Agnes Antoinette Garrett (eds), *Yesterday's Authors of Books for Children: Facts and Pictures about Authors and Illustrators of Books for Young People from Early Times to 1960* 2 Vols. (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1977).

3 Although it is not widely-read today, a strong case can also be made for the critical reappraisal and recovery for a wider readership of *Johnny Appleseed: The Romance of the Sower*, which Atkinson published in 1915, and which is a fictionalised biography of the nineteenth-century American pioneer, nurseryman, and proto-environmentalist, Jonathan Chapman (1774–1845). Many of the reforming social attitudes and political principles which characterise *Greyfriars Bobby* are also evident in this later novel. See Eleanor Atkinson, *Johnny Appleseed: The Romance of the Sower* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1915).

4 According to the UNESCO Edinburgh City of Literature website, Bobby's statue is the most popular in Edinburgh. See www.cityofliterature.com/a-to-z/greyfriars-bobby-statue (accessed 2 August 2017). The fame Bobby enjoyed during his own lifetime is attested by the several portraits painted of him by well-known artists; by the memorial statue which was erected shortly after his death by the philanthropist Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts; and by a number of contemporary accounts in the Scottish press of his celebrity. See Bondeson, *Amazing Dogs*, pp. 132–36.

5 See Forbes Macgregor, *Greyfriars Bobby: The Real Story at Last* (London and Edinburgh: Steve Savage, 2002), p. 7, and Bondeson, *Amazing Dogs*, p. 272.

6 The supposed lack of Scottish authenticity in Atkinson's writing has been a feature of the criticism of the novel going all the way back to its first publication, and it continues into the present century. A very brief, anonymous review of *Greyfriars Bobby* in *The Scotsman* from Thursday 16 May 1912, concluded that Atkinson's poor ear for idiom 'rather grate[s] on Scottish readers', while almost a hundred years later, Jan Bondeson characterised her style as 'a ludicrous pseudo-Scots'. Bondeson, *Amazing Dogs*, p. 136.

7 See Hilda Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), pp. 84–88.

8 Eleanor Atkinson, *Greyfriars Bobby* (London: Puffin Books, 1994), p. 9 and p. 170. All quotations are taken from this edition of the novel and are subsequently referenced within the body of the essay.

9 The classic study of the relationship between the rural and urban environments in English Literature remains Raymond Williams' *The Country and The City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

10 Forbes Macgregor and Jan Bondeson have pointed out that this opening scene is anachronistic. Atkinson sets the beginning of the novel in November 1858, almost three years before the first firing of the one o'clock gun, which took place on 7 June 1861. And it was not until May 1862 that John Traill took over as the proprietor of the Greyfriars Dining-rooms (which he named 'Traill's Temperance Coffee House'). See Macgregor, *Greyfriars Bobby*, pp. 45–49, and Bondeson, *Amazing Dogs*, p. 136 and pp. 138–39.

11 Elsewhere in the novel, Atkinson alludes to the fact that the Grassmarket was at one time the place of public execution in Edinburgh, further adding to its sinister reputation. See Atkinson, *Greyfriars Bobby*, pp. 63, 130.

12 This episode is recounted in chapter 11. See Atkinson, *Greyfriars Bobby*, pp. 209–32.

13 The immediate historical context in which *Greyfriars Bobby* was published in 1912 would have made the question of Auld Jock's destitution all the more topical and politically resonant, particularly for Atkinson's British readers. In 1911, the British Liberal Government passed the National Insurance Act, which amongst its other provisions gave the unemployed the right to a dole – which admittedly was not very generous – of 7s. 6d. a week for 15 weeks. The reforms to education, pensions, and unemployment benefit introduced by the pre-War Liberal Government of Prime Minister Herbert Asquith are often credited with establishing the foundations of the modern welfare state. In the light of this social reform, the absence of any safety net to provide for Auld Jock's unemployment would have seemed all the more marked to the book's contemporary British readership. For a discussion of the social reforms of the pre-War Liberal government, see James Roy Hay, *The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms, 1906–14* (London: Macmillan, 1975).

14 See Macgregor, *Greyfriars Bobby*, pp. 50–54, and Bondeson, *Amazing Dogs*, pp. 131–32. As well as paying for Bobby's licence, Chambers presented the dog with a collar with a brass plate, containing the inscription: 'Greyfriars Bobby, from the Lord Provost 1867. Licensed'. Bobby's collar has been preserved and is one of the exhibits in the Museum of Edinburgh. An image of Bobby's collar is reproduced on the Museum's website. See www.edinburghmuseums.org.uk/Venues/Museum-of-Edinburgh/Collections/History/Private-Lives-and-Personalities/Greyfriar-s-Bobby (accessed 2 August 2017).

15 Sondra Miley Clooney, 'William Chambers (1800–1883) *publisher*', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) volume 10, pp. 1006–08.

16 For a concise account of the history of the persecution of the Covenanters, see Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters, 1660–1688* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1976).

17 Quoted in Bondeson, *Amazing Dogs*, p. 134.

18 Kean, *Animal Rights*, pp. 84–88. See also Hilda Kean, 'An Exploration of the Sculptures of Greyfriars Bobby, Edinburgh, Scotland, and the Brown Dog, Battersea, South London, England', in *Society & Animals,* 11:4 (2003): 353–73.

III. CHILD'S PLAY

12. Youthful Visionaries in Margaret Oliphant's *Fin-de-Siècle* Fiction

ANNE STAPLETON

Margaret Oliphant's *fin-de-siècle* short stories utilise a child's perspective in order to explore important cultural, gendered, and literary boundaries. Alert to the vulnerability of others and vital to the restoration of order, children remain central. In three of Oliphant's most haunting stories, 'The Open Door' (1882), 'Old Lady Mary' (1884), and 'The Library Window' (1896),[1] youth become the primary conduit of interchange with, and seers of, supernatural worlds through commonplace physical locations. Discerning characters include the 'deeply sensitive' (115) Roland, in 'The Open Door', the prescient 'little Connie' (178), in 'Old Lady Mary', and the unnamed budding adolescent with second sight, in 'The Library Window'. In each case, a child's candour, faith, and compassion enhance his or her perception of other people and provide access to understanding that far exceeds the 'cold-blooded confidence' (140) and the knowledge of modern-day realists. Unlike moral tales for young Victorian readers, however, Oliphant's Gothic-tinged narratives reverse a dry didactic trajectory to unfold evocative lessons for adults, particularly guardians of children.[2] Oliphant does not ask readers to suspend belief as they read her stories but rather to see temporarily through the unclouded eyes of children – the true visionaries of the world.

During the final two decades of the nineteenth century, a burgeoning readership became eager for both experimental short fiction crafted for an adult readership and imaginative fantasy literature intended to delight children, thereby providing Oliphant with an ideal opportunity to explore the flexible form of the short story as she drew attention to the sphere and power of a child's faith.[3] Unfettered by lengthy entangled plots characteristic of Victorian novels and emphasising 'psychological intensity and formal innovation',[4] *fin-de-siècle* stories allowed writers to re-imagine enigmatic subjects while incorporating new literary techniques. A prolific and versatile

writer,[5] Oliphant chose this genre to look anew at the agency of the child, a recurring preoccupation in the final decades of her life. By the time she published 'The Open Door' in 1882, her husband, one brother, and four of her six children had predeceased her, her daughter Maggie's death in particular marking a 'graver era' of intense introspection and 'trial of faith', as she explains in her autobiography.[6] Her two remaining children died in adulthood before she published 'The Library Window' in 1896. Gillian Avery and Kimberley Reynolds point out that childhood death was quite common until the twentieth century, and parental grief understandably central, but they argue 'there is little evidence of what young people themselves thought or felt in the face of death – their own or the deaths of siblings and friends'.[7] Oliphant homes in on this topic. In the depths of despair and grief about Maggie in 1864, Oliphant asks in her autobiographical writing:

> [w]here, then, are they, those who have gone before us? […] I have tried to follow her in my imagination, to think of her delight and surprise when from the fever, wandering and languor of her bed she came suddenly into the company of angels and the presence of the Lord. […] Did she not stop short there and say, 'Where is Mamma?' did not the separation overwhelm her?[8]

Perhaps seeking answers during the most powerful rhetorical moments of her short tales, Oliphant turns to children, giving them the opportunity to voice their concerns and deep compassion for others, particularly in the face of death. She evokes supernatural mediators to establish contact between a real and a spiritual world in order to highlight the marginalised lives of specific characters, largely children and women. Neither passive nor fully autonomous, Oliphant's literary young are serious subjects concerned with justice, often guiding or advising adults and other children, some of whom are spirits in another world.

Stylistically, Oliphant features striking Scottish settings and literary traditions, including folk myths and ballads,[9] while negotiating the liminal space between realism and aestheticism, oral tale and literary story, and worlds seen and unseen. 'The Open Door' and 'The Library Window' unfold

explicitly in Scotland, and the locations create the conditions in which singular events can develop. Settings also enhance the stories' themes and protagonists' epiphanies. In 'The Library Window', for example, the central revelation relies upon the narrator's second sight, which improves daily in the northern locale of St Rule's, augmented by the 'Scotch night[s] in June' (275) that never seem to end and 'sing-song' accents of the '"Fifish"' pedestrians who stroll beneath her window and whose remarks 'came up into [her] story or [her] dream' (274). Likewise, significant aspects of Scottish culture shape characters' ideas, emotions, and actions. The compassionate minister who recognises and unburdens the tormented youth in 'The Open Door' understands human nature and radiates faith, largely, the narrator suggests, due to being 'educated in the Scotch way, strong in philosophy' and 'very sound in doctrine' (137). Although earthly scenes in 'Old Lady Mary' presumably take place somewhere in England,[10] the less precise geography directs attention to the more significant ethical dilemmas characters face and to the power of 'the oracular' (162), as Lady Mary discovers. During a pivotal period of self-reflection, she finds herself repeating an 'old north-country dirge, which came to her recollection she knew not how' but sparked her 'consciousness' (162). The particular verse Oliphant includes also appears in Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (first published in 1802), and hints to the powerful influence of northern, if not specifically Scottish, traditions and literary expression. She updated and revised the tradition of the Scottish Gothic explored by male fiction writers like James Hogg and Walter Scott,[11] while reminding readers of Scott's enduring influence. In 'The Library Window', Oliphant even evokes Scott's ghostly presence when she worries her 'Unknown' might handle his papers as 'Sir Walter' had once done (282).

Oliphant also drew upon emerging modernist techniques and motifs that reflect sophisticated literary skill as well as Scottish inspiration. As a woman writing ghost stories in the *fin-de-siècle* – a 'volatile and transitional period; […] a time fraught with anxiety and with an exhilarating sense of possibility'[12] – she shared with other contemporary female authors writing Gothic fiction a take on humanity that incorporated the uncanny in realist narratives, often particularly attuned to female experiences. During the last

two decades of the nineteenth century, Gothic narratives continued to explore gender roles and identity as they merged with popular cultural forms such as science fiction and detective fiction, which lent 'credibility to the supernatural.'[13] Oliphant draws upon and counters existing concerns about parents and children as she unveils families, social institutions, and patriarchal structures. She also incorporates aesthetic detail that enriches realistic locales and psychological probing. While Oliphant is not usually associated with the aesthetic movement, her stories of the seen and unseen link her with its concepts and stylistic features. Like the productive juncture of realism and the supernatural, aestheticism appealed to *fin-de-siècle* women writers because of its 'indeterminacy',[14] which serves Oliphant's stories well.

Stories of the Seen and Unseen

In the 'The Open Door' (first published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1882), two boys become the primary conduits of interchange with and seers of supernatural worlds as they pursue help from parents and form a close but unearthly relationship with each other. 'Fragile in body' and 'deeply sensitive in mind' (115), the human youth Roland develops as the moral centre of the story, as he first hears and then successfully seeks help for a spiritual communicant who has '"been badly used"' and is '"in such terrible, terrible trouble!"', as Roland tells his father (122). Roland is the only son of the story's narrator, Colonel Mortimer, who moves to a country estate near Edinburgh with his wife and family following service in India. While the Colonel is away in London, Roland, for whom they are seeking better health, begins to hear voices in the park by their house and see 'shadows that had appeared to him among the ruins' (118). Learning belatedly that Dr Simson worries that his son may have '"brain-fever"' after his condition worsens and fearful that his son is dying, Colonel Mortimer rushes home (118). The intense discussion between father and son during their reunion reveals Roland's mature and empathetic character as he patiently describes 'like a man' the clear cry that '"gets into my head in my sleep"', and which he eventually discerns to be calling '"Oh, mother, let me in! oh, mother, let me in!"' (121). He even channels the suffering soul, repeating the plea aloud while asleep. Having complete confidence his father will know how to help the troubled

being who seems to be entering his consciousness, Roland relinquishes his secret and leaves the Colonel 'as perplexed a man as any in Scotland' but realising that he 'had to act the part of a father to Roland's ghost […] It was the strangest mission that ever was intrusted [*sic*] to mortal man' (123). Sustained, intimate, and emotional, yet oddly rational and sensible, their conversation catalyses the plot, which then maps out the quest of the father to relieve the distress of the being with the disturbing voice. Perhaps even more importantly, Oliphant reminds readers of the powerful reciprocity between young children and parents who learn from and believe in each other. Colonel Mortimer humbly realises his responsibility as he reassures Roland's sisters that Roland is not as ill as he expected: 'they believed in me; they had a feeling that all would go right now. God is very good to you when your children look to you like that' (123).

Once Roland relegates responsibility to his father, he fades from the narrative focus. In contrast, the ethereal voice he had described to his father becomes an increasingly audible presence to other characters, never materialising corporeally but nonetheless choreographing the movements of adults who seek to understand the mystery. Colonel Mortimer enlists the help of his brave butler Bagley, who had been with him in India and does not fear 'man or devil'; Roland's scientific physician Simson, who scoffs at the idea of '"ghost-hunting"'; and the old-fashioned Scottish minister Dr Moncrieff, who remains certain only of '"the loving-kindness of God"' (128, 134, 143). Time and time again, Roland's father returns with one or more of these psychical investigators to the ruins of the former mansion of Brentwood, wherein lies the open door, only to discover not a ghost but a 'creature, and it was in trouble' (138). Although all the men eventually hear the same sounds and words, only the minister Dr Moncrieff recognises the voice as that of a lad named Willie, who years before had returned home to find his mother dead. Their aural observations occur repeatedly at the servant's entrance Willie's mother used, which during daylight appears simply a doorway with 'a strange suggestion in the open door […] all free around […] yet that semblance of an enclosure – that way of entrance, unnecessary, leading to nothing' (138). At night, however, this is where the spirit Willie moves to and fro, 'a creature restless, unhappy, moaning,

crying, before the vacant doorway, which no one could either shut or open more' (132). In a profoundly moving passage, Dr Moncrieff instructs Willie's sobbing spirit to return '"home to the Father"' where he will also find his mother and then prays, '"Lord, let that woman there draw him inower! Let her draw him inower! Let her draw him inower!"' (42). Conflating earthly and heavenly passages, marked by the titular open door, the narrator describes how something 'flung itself wildly within the door' and disappeared, thus intimating Willie's passage to the mother he so desperately misses (142). Freed, the spirit troubles Roland no longer, who recovers his health.

The repeated visitations to the symbolic space of the open door become reminders of diurnal rhythms and life cycles,[15] providing psychological insights about each character, as well as a growing awareness of Willie's identity. By repeatedly using a modern setting with a space inhabited by 'the seeker at the door' (137), Oliphant also seems to anticipate postmodern ideas linking repetition to the emergence of identity, as Willie revisits the site of his devastating discovery. In a far more serious manner, but like Bill Murray in the movie *Groundhog Day*, Willie returns again and again, reliving the day he discovered his mother had died yet unable to effect change. Colonel Mortimer comments that 'the repetition had struck me at the time as, in its terrible strangeness and incomprehensibility, almost mechanical – as if the unseen actor could not exceed or vary, but was bound to re-enact the whole' (144). Through this reiteration of scene, observed and experienced by modern men of faith and science, Willie's identity slowly emerges, triggered by Roland's initial receptiveness to his call. As Colonel Mortimer explains to the reader, the minister 'had known [the poor creature] in the flesh, having no doubt of his identify [*sic*]. And to Roland it was the same. This spirit in pain – if it was a spirit – this voice out of the unseen – was a poor fellow-creature in misery, to be succoured and helped out of his trouble' (145). With empathy and understanding, both Dr Moncrieff and Roland implore different fathers, the minister beseeching a Christian Father of all and the child entreating his birth father. Thus, Oliphant seems to suggest, shared compassion among characters breaks Willie's bonds and links the lives of children and their parents.

Oliphant's Scottish setting and descriptions also enhance the play between realism and aestheticism. Although often considered a Gothic tale and included in anthologies of ghost stories, 'The Open Door' is quite believable, firmly rooted in British soil and contemporary life. Brentwood house lies between the Pentland Hills and the Firth of Forth 'within reach of Edinburgh' by train (115), a city associated with human reason and intellectual achievement, not an exotic locale. In fact, the narrator contrasts the 'arid plains and blazing skies' of India the family had recently left with the 'cheery, and fresh' Scottish landscape 'full of repose' (116). Likewise, the close-by village of Brentwood signals the proximity of industrial manufacturing, since it borders a river that had 'in its earlier life been sacrificed to trade, and was grimy with paper-making' (116). The personification of nature as a youth polluted by a damaging influence also foreshadows Willie's earthly downfall and hints to a reason he may have left the peaceful rural community, whether due to the lure of industrialisation or his own 'foolish, easily imposed upon' nature (144). However, even as she emphasises logical modernity in the opening details of the story (for example, when Colonel Mortimer learns of Roland's illness by dated and timed telegrams while he is in London and gives thanks for the speed of the railway when he anxiously returns to his family in Brentwood), Oliphant juxtaposes Willie's less well-defined temporal zone and adds rich aesthetic details, particularly during Colonel Mortimer's visits to the ruins.

Repeated descriptions of the open door incorporate 'nostalgic fantasy, lush descriptions, [and] archaic language', elements of style enjoyed by many female aesthetes, according to Talia Schaffer.[16] For example, the first of many explanations about the site of ghostly visitation occurs through the Scottish brogue of the coachman Jarvis, 'a native of the district', and his wife (124). Perhaps not archaic, but certainly alien to many English readers, their language contrasts with the anglicised speech of Colonel Mortimer, who himself recognises that Mrs Jarvis spoke 'with unconscious poetry' (125). The Jarvises' dialect also harkens back to a rich oral tradition associated with balladry and storytelling. While Colonel Mortimer emphasises the unschooled nature of the tale that 'developed as distinct a superstition as [he] ever heard' (125), he also reveals the sagacity of the storytellers. Jarvis

agrees with the Colonel that stories can infect a child's or adult's imagination. As he explains, '"some think it grand to have a ghost so long as they're no in the way of coming across it"' (126). In an ironic commentary on modern ghost stories, the Colonel thinks to himself, 'it is possible that all the family would have considered the possession of a ghost a distinct advantage. It is the fashion of the times' (126). Jarvis's wife, on the other hand, recognises the scepticism that accompanies unbelievable events: '"there's awfu' strange things in this world. An unlearned person doesna ken what to think"' (127). Thus, Oliphant suggests an array of possible explanations for the strange happenings while positioning the reader amongst distinctive perspectives.

One of the most opulent passages in 'The Open Door' comes from the rational military man Colonel Mortimer, who describes the ruins just after the tormented spirit vanishes:

> We leant upon each other for a moment, trembling so much both of us that the whole scene trembled as if it were going to dissolve and disappear; and yet as long as I live I will never forget it – the shining of the strange lights, the blackness all round, the kneeling figure with all the whiteness of the light concentrated on its white venerable head and uplifted hands. A strange solemn stillness seemed to close all round us. (142)

Rife with alliteration, assonance, and the repetition of luminous imagery, this scene begs to be read aloud, especially the final sibilant image that soothes, and lingers with, the reader/listener. Similarly, Oliphant leaves readers with unanswered questions about the events narrated. She concludes with a return to the doorway in daylight, when the sceptical Simson decides '"human agency"' had caused the nightly disturbances, yet the narrator adds a postscript that even the rational doctor was 'staggered' by one unexplainable event, the movement of the juniper bush during the nights of surveillance (145). Indeterminacy leaves the reader to ponder religious, scientific, spiritual, and psychological explanations, as well as the child-centred relationships.

Similarly unsettlingly in its exploration of intermediary spaces between seen and unseen worlds, 'Old Lady Mary' (published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1884) focuses on beneficial relationships between girls or adolescents and women, another significant topic for female writers of the *fin-de-siècle* such as Margaret Todd, author of *Mona Maclean, Medical Student* (1896). While the eponymous Lady Mary shows the greatest character development (more precisely a posthumous moral development during her ghostly wanderings), the narrative shifts perspective to other characters during the fifteen numbered parts. Like Willie, after death Lady Mary finds herself caught in a condition or place she questions may be Purgatory, seeking '"justice […], and to do away with a great wrong"' she allowed before she died (163). Unlike in 'The Open Door', however, the first third of the story describes Lady Mary's life and initial afterlife, setting up the reason for her hauntings and exploring her deep regret for thoughtless choices. During her long and wealthy life, she ignores her lawyer's and physician's advice to write a clear will leaving her fortune to her namesake and godchild Mary, who lives with her and whom she loves deeply. Instead, she finds pleasure in defying their wishes and secretly leaves a signed will in a hidden panel of her writing desk, all 'for nothing, for folly, for a jest' (162). Too late, Old Lady Mary discovers 'all communication with the world she had left was closed' (163), or so she first believes. Thus, young Mary remains '"unprovided for – without any one to help her"' (164), as Lady Mary realises in anguish. The narrative then turns to the eighteen-year-old 'little Mary' (166), who unconditionally loves Lady Mary and defends her memory, and the '"sweet little thing"' Connie (178), who grows 'one of those visionary passions' for young Mary, when after Lady Mary's death she becomes Connie's 'so-called governess' (192).

Other children and women also feature prominently, ultimately proving far more helpful, discerning, and compassionate than professional men like the doctor, who through science proffers useless explanations for Lady Mary's ghostly visits, and the vicar, who refuses to contradict the Church's teaching about purgatory. Babies and children, on the other hand, believe in and can actually see Lady Mary's ghost after she dies, and some women can sense her presence. For example, the first time Lady Mary returns to

her stately house as a spectre, she lingers unseen 'below stairs', among the circle of domestic servants who, though now uncertain about future employment, worry more about 'that poor little thing that can't work for her living like we can' (172). Forlorn and distraught, Lady Mary bends over the housekeeper's grandbaby, who then 'turned his head towards her, and flickered his baby hands, and cooed with that indescribable voice that goes to every women's heart' (173). He seems to reach out to the anguished Lady Mary. Although his unaccountable actions panic the young mother, who senses but cannot understand Mary's presence, she finds tremendous consolation from her own mother and other women who rush to calm her. Throughout the story, Oliphant suggests the inadequacy of social, economic, religious, and scientific structures or systems that can alienate or prove unjust to women and children, who, nonetheless, hold an often unrecognised potential to support each other.[17]

Following Lady Mary's death, the most powerful and reciprocal bond grows between young Mary and younger Connie, after Mary agrees to be Connie's governess. For both, the relationship brings inspiration and escape from undesirable or potentially degrading situations. Mary discovers that by choosing to return to her previous home in order to be Connie's companion (Connie's family, the Turners, had moved into Lady Mary's home), she relieves Mrs Turner's concern that the doctor will send Connie away for seeing ghosts and tacitly answers the mother's cry, '"I know you will save her"' (180). Mary also feels true 'independence', which was 'deliverance' for a penniless eighteen-year-old without financial support or training for a career (180). Her decision frees Mary from three intolerable options: offers of charity, the 'unendurable suggestions' that her 'case' will be represented to the unknown Earl who gained Lady Mary's inheritance (176), and a possible marriage offer from the doctor, whose anxious mother foresees their incompatibility and comments to the vicar's wife, '"marriages made out of compassion are just as bad as mercenary marriages"' (168). However, Oliphant offers no marriage plot. Instead, she emphasises Mary's loyalty to her aunt, as well as her self-determination and a strong sense of purpose, which guide Mary's friendship with Connie. While Mary discovers 'the awe which she inspired' and 'the real kindness about her' in the Turners'

home (180), Connie finds in Mary the only person who truly listens, understands, and believes her sightings of Lady Mary. As in the relationship between Roland and Willie, a physical opening enhances earthly and spiritual exchange, this time through the 'door of communication' (182) that connects Mary's and Connie's bedrooms, which were formerly Mary's and Lady Mary's bedrooms.

Setting enhances the Gothic motif of enclosure, since the interior domestic space where most ghostly visitations occur overshadows the national location, which is vaguely British but without reference to notable geographical markers. Like young Mary, the Turners seem marginalised, since they are pigeonholed socially by respected members of the community like the vicar and his wife, who view them as 'dissenters, […] city people and *nouveaux riches*' (186). Thus, the mutual esteem that flourishes within the Turners' home draws attention to the thresholds of forbearance and understanding symbolised by apertures. The kind Mrs Turner offers Mary unforeseen opportunity when she 'opened her doors to the destitute girl' (181). Later, Mary, Connie, and Lady Mary traverse and communicate through the passageway between the girls' rooms. Evocative of the communion of humans and spirits in 'The Open Door,' several descriptions of partially realised communications between Lady Mary and either Mary or Connie herald the final meeting of all three female characters during the climax to 'Old Lady Mary'.

During this scene, florid visual images and effusive verbal outpourings collide, again underscoring realistic emotions heightened by aesthetic details. Essential to the story, the alliance of female child, young woman, and elderly guardian permits all three to find resolution. Connie sees and leads Mary to Lady Mary, and Mary cries '"O God, let her know that I have never blamed her, never wished it otherwise, never ceased to love her, and thank her, and bless her"' (196). Reminiscent of Dr Moncrieff in 'The Open Door', Mary kneels in an ekphrastic pose 'before her senses failed her, her eyes shining as if they would burst from their sockets, her lips dropping apart, her countenance like marble—' (196). Pausing after this vivid scene of petrifaction, in which Mary presumably sees Lady Mary, Oliphant includes a dramatic break before turning to a new section with Connie's

brief explanation of events. Three short sections then reveal the anticlimactic denouement: Mary almost dies, and when the Earl takes over the house and gives away furniture, the will 'was found in the most natural way, without any trouble or mystery at all' (196). The story's final passages feature a weary but satisfied Lady Mary, who tells her fellow spirits that '"[t]he little children knew me; they were not afraid of me"' and that '"[s]he whom I wronged loves me"' (197). Oliphant never mentions what becomes of Mary and Connie. Instead, she leaves the reader to draw his or her own conclusions, reminded of the power of love and the child's faith in humanity. She also bestows an explicit benediction upon adult readers in her concluding words: 'everything is included in pardon and love' (197).

The final story explored here, 'The Library Window' (published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1896), stretches narrative boundaries in order to explore an adolescent's increasing awareness of self and others as she transitions from childhood to womanhood.[18] In this story-length female *bildungsroman*, an older and anonymous first-person narrator looks back upon an unforgettable summer spent in her youth at St Rule's (St Andrews), when her budding 'sort of second-sight' (270) blossoms into a climactic 'kind of rapture' (294) and fleeting, but powerful, contentment. With a 'willowy girlish frame' (276) and initially 'afloat in a dream' as she reads books and stitches a bit 'when the spirit moved' her (270), the youthful protagonist awakens to life[19] as she gradually senses and then sees an inexplicable male writer at a desk behind a blocked-up library window. Most other characters deny the patency of the window, which they describe as '"just a delusion"', '"an optical illusion"', or, as the butcher boy says, '"yon windy [window] yonder in the library that is nae windy"' (272, 273, 295). Only ancient Lady Carnbee, who 'looked like a witch' (272), and the narrator's aged Aunt Mary, who serves as guardian while the young woman is away from her parents for the summer, seem to understand her increasing ability to see the phantasmal young man. As in the story 'Old Lady Mary', the narrator's tightly circumscribed environment in her Aunt Mary's house, where she retreats repeatedly to 'the deep recess of the drawing-room window' which she considers her 'watch-tower' (269), seems to heighten her sentience. Conversely, she feels a conflicted sense of alienation from

the elderly adults in her household closest to her. A marvellous tale of maturation, 'The Library Window' dwells far less upon science or Christian faith and instead explores an adolescent's mindset and relationship with her worried guardian, Aunt Mary Balcarres, and the ghost who lingers in both their minds.

De-emphasising plot and repeatedly describing shimmering, impressionistic spaces seen by the narrator watching for the ghostly young man, Oliphant underscores the fecundity of the heroine's emotions and the psychological intensity of her transformation from non-seer to seer. The narrator's complex feelings also mirror the scenes she describes, paradoxically clear and obscure. Just as the emblematic library window is *chiaroscuro* – 'partly revealed and partly veiled' (*OED*) – so too is the tale itself, as it alludes to the narrator's ambiguous budding emotions and 'second-sight' which allows her to see without lifting her eyes (270). Likewise, her Scottish bloodline and gender merge to suggest extra-sensory abilities that are both knowable and unknowable, as Lady Carnbee tells the protagonist: '"there's things about, uncanny for women of our blood"' (276). Furthermore, the Scottish setting enhances exchange between a young woman's natural senses and a supernatural presence. Her first sighting of the ghostly writer occurs 'about midsummer' (279), and she only envisions the window during the long Scottish twilight, 'that strange day which was night, that light without colour […]. "It was between the night and the day, when the fairy folk have power"' (287). As Kirsty A. Macdonald argues, '[i]n Oliphant's work supernatural encounters are ultimately empowering and deifying'.[20] Certainly true here, the narrator's epiphany and the climax of the story intersect in a moment of certainty and mounting emotion, as she realises the apparition in the window 'did know, he did see, who it was that had recognised him and sympathised with him all the time' (294). As in 'The Open Window' and 'Old Lady Mary', mutual sympathy provides entry into other spheres of being. Published a year before Oliphant's death, this story, even more than her other works, gives weight to a female youth's feelings and experience and evokes a poignant yearning for insight and understanding amongst generations.

By highlighting marginalised individuals in all three stories – children with inexplicable visions, spirits from other worlds, adolescents with labile emotions, and guardians striving to effect change – Oliphant explores the vital interconnectedness of multiple spheres of existence. In particular, she foregrounds the valuable relationship between insightful young people and those who have responsibility for their care. This attention to youthful visionaries who sagely broaden adults' spheres of understanding stands in striking contrast to Victorian plots that underscore prescriptive instruction for children. Oliphant's characters must negotiate social, cultural, and even spiritual borders in order to communicate heartfelt emotions and create meaningful change. Because her hauntings involve protagonists who are loved and cherished by other characters, Oliphant also stresses why compassion is central to human understanding. Her ghosts are neither malevolent nor scary. Instead, compassion increases awareness and interconnectedness. Empathy lies with vulnerable young characters and their anxious care-givers, who invariably learn from their charges. Such psychological conundrums might have been difficult to sustain in longer narratives about growing up, but the supple construct of late nineteenth-century short stories allowed for an opportunity to develop such evocative fragments of life and afterlife. In these haunting *fin-de-siècle* tales, Oliphant gives crucial voice to the young, imbuing loss with meaning in the midst of her own grief.

Notes

1 I am grateful to Sarah Dunnigan for her helpful comments and careful review of this chapter. All references to Oliphant's stories are from Merryn Williams (ed.), *The Selected Works of Margaret Oliphant*, *Part III: Novellas and Shorter Fiction, Essays on Life-Writing and History, Essays on European Literature and Culture*, 25 vols (London and Brookfield, Vermont: Pickering & Chatto), XII. Page references will be given parenthetically in the text. Although originally published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, all three stories were also republished in many collections, including *Stories of the Seen and the Unseen*.

2 David Sandner argues that during the nineteenth century, 'especially in children's fantasy literature by women, the fairy tale and the moral tale move towards one another': Sandner, *The Fantastic Sublime: Romanticism and Transcendence in Nineteenth-Century Children's Fantasy Literature*, Contributions to the Study of Science Fiction and Fantasy, LXIX (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 138.

3 See Sally Ledger, and Roger Luckhurst (eds), *The Fin De Siècle: A Reader in Cultural History, c. 1880–1900* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. xiv–xv for a discussion of the literary marketplace during the *fin de siècle*. Adrienne E. Gavin labels the period beginning with Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) through the Edwardian era as a 'Golden Age of British children's literature': Gavin, 'The Child in British Literature: An Introduction', in Adrienne Gavin (ed.), *The Child in British Literature: Literary Constructions of Childhood, Medieval to Contemporary* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1–18 (p. 9).

4 Elaine Showalter, 'Introduction', in *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin de Siècle* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993), pp. vii–xx (p. ix).

5 Oliphant published close to one hundred novels, over fifty short stories, and a variety of non-fiction works, from biography and literary criticism to historical travel writing and journalism. As Elisabeth Jay and Joanne Shattock explain, her journalism 'reveals Oliphant, always the professional whatever the exigencies of her personal life, trying out fresh authorial personae, and seeking new outlets for the easy flow of her social commentary in response to the changing patterns and mores of *fin de siècle* Britain': Jay and Shattock (eds), 'General Introduction', in *The Selected Works of Margaret Oliphant, Part II: Literary Criticism, Autobiography, Biography and Historical Writing,* 25 vols (London and Brookfield, Vermont: Pickering & Chatto, 2012),V, pp. xiii–xix (p. xiii).

6 *The Autobiography of Margaret Oliphant*, ed. by Elisabeth Jay (Peterborough, Ontario; Orchard Park, NY; Ormskirk, Lancashire; Rozelle, NSW: Broadview Press, 2002), pp. 36, 39.

7 Gillian Avery and Kimberley Reynolds (eds), 'Introduction', *Representations of Childhood Death* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd; New York: St Martin's Press, Inc., 2000), pp. 1–10 (p. 3).

8 Oliphant, *Autobiography*, p. 39.

9 Jenni Calder, 'Through Mrs Oliphant's Library Window', *Women's Writing*, 10 (3) (2003): 485–502 (p. 487) and Kirsty Macdonald, 'Writing the Supernatural', in Glenda Norquay (ed.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 94–102 (p. 96).

10 After she dies, Lady Mary seeks to send her young charge a message and tells a 'passer-by' the destination is 'England' (163).

11 See Ian Duncan, 'Walter Scott, James Hogg, and Scottish Gothic', in David Punter (ed.), *A New Companion to the Gothic* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 123–34 for a discussion of Scottish Gothic in early nineteenth-century fiction. For the most recent discussion, see *Scottish Gothic. An Edinburgh Companion,* ed. Carol Davison and Monica Germanà (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

12 Ledger and Luckhurst, p. xiii.

13 Carol Margaret Davison, 'The Victorian Gothic and Gender', in Andrew Smith and William Hughes (eds), *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 124–41.

14 Talia Schaffer describes the complexities of aestheticism (as a philosophy, fashion, and literary movement), explaining that 'to introduce women writers into the aesthetic canon requires us to respect, not resolve, this indeterminacy' (Schaffer, *The Forgotten Female Aesthetes: Literary Culture in Late-Victorian England* (Charlottesville and London: University of Press of Virginia, 2000), p. 2). Likewise, recognising aestheticism's potential,

Elaine Showalter argues that 'New Women writers needed to purge aestheticism and decadence of their misogyny and to rewrite the myths of art that denigrated women' (p. x).

15 Elizabeth McCarthy, '"This voice out of the unseen": love, death and mourning in the writing of Margaret Oliphant', in Helen Conrad O'Brien & Julie Anne Stevens (eds), *The Ghost Story from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century: A Ghostly Genre* (Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 97–111 (pp. 106–07).

16 Schaffer, p. 5.

17 In discussing *fin-de-siècle* Gothic fiction, Victoria Margree and Bryony Randall explain that '[w]hile female-authored texts address the same themes and anxieties of the male-authored Gothic canon – around sexuality, race, economics, and in particular science – they frequently evince an alienated female sensibility in relation to these issues': Margree and Randall, 'Fin-de-siècle Gothic', in Andrew Smith and William Hughes (eds), *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 217–33 (p. 231).

18 It is beyond the scope of this essay to outline the arc of juvenile literature and a history of adolescence, but see Charles Ferrall and Anna Jackson, *Juvenile Literature and British Society, 1850–1950: The Age of Adolescence* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010).

19 The witchlike Lady Carnbee startles the narrator and explains, '"I've wakened you to life, and broke the spell"' (276).

20 Kirsty MacDonald, 'Writing the Supernatural', in Glenda Norquay (ed.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 94–102 (p. 98).

13. A Scottish Child's *Memento Mori*: Language, Folklore, and Landscape in George MacDonald's *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood*

J. PATRICK PAZDZIORA

At first glance, George MacDonald's boy's adventure story *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* (1871) appears to be a straightforward, nostalgic Scottish pastoral.[1] The titular boy-hero and his gang of friends have various adventures in the Aberdeenshire countryside, braving the rural perils of stray bulls, cross housekeepers, and the occasional snowstorm. So affectionate does MacDonald's portrayal of growing up in Scotland seem that William Raeper, his biographer, goes so far as to simply mine the book as a vein of unfiltered autobiography.[2] This unapologetic biographical appropriation may be partly responsible for the critical neglect of the work. Upon closer inspection, MacDonald's portrayal of a Scottish childhood in *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* quickly emerged as a puzzling complex of images, addressing a child's struggle with realities of bereavement. Curiously, this frank emphasis on mortality may have been what led to uncritical mining of the text for autobiography: MacDonald's mother died when he was eight years old, and two of his brothers died in early childhood.[3] Early in the narrative, *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* recounts the death of Ranald's mother and baby brother:

> I remember looking out of my bed on night and seeing my mother bending over [the little baby] in her lap—it is one of the few things in which I do remember my mother. I fell asleep, but by and by woke and looked out again. No one was there. Not only were mother and baby gone, but the cradle was gone too. I knew that my little brother was dead.[4]

Later, Ranald writes about his mother that 'I remember her death clearly, but I will not dwell on that. It is too sad to write much about, though she was happy, and the least troubled of us all' (p. 9). He notes that his grief 'was over soon', and muses that 'God makes children so that grief cannot cleave to them' (p. 9). However, though he claims a clear remembrance of her death, he says he remembers very little of her life: 'My mother was very good, but I cannot remember a single one of the many kisses she must have given me. I remember her holding my head to her bosom when she was dying—that is all' (p. 10).

All this is understandably irresistible to biographers and the biographically inclined. But MacDonald himself subverts Ranald's narrative reliability, especially in the opening chapters, when he relates with equal seriousness a bizarre sequence of mystical dreams about Mr Sun and Mrs Moon and their children the stars; Ranald declares that 'the time of life to which this chapter refers is all so like' a dream that the distinction between what was dreamed and what was real hardly matters: 'There is a twilight of the mind, when all things are strange, and when the memory is only beginning to know that it has got a note-book, and must put things down in it' (p. 9). The nature of Ranald's memories is thus rendered ambiguous; it is not at all clear whether he actually saw his mother with his infant brother, or whether, in the liminal twilight of early memory, he dreamed of them after their death, or even whether the dream was a recollection of the past, a present occurrence, or a portent of death to come.

Within the larger context of the narrative, however, the distinction hardly matters; MacDonald's emphasis in the story is not the strict accuracy of detail itself, but the way a child's memory of death shapes and colours the way they understand the world around them. Intriguingly, the *memento mori* that comes to define Ranald Bannerman's childhood emerges from the landscape of Scotland itself. He remarks that 'during the last months of [my mother's] life we seldom saw her, and the desire to keep the house quiet for her sake must have been the beginning of that freedom which we enjoyed during the whole of our boyhood. So we were out every day and all day long, finding our meals when we pleased' (p. 9). As Ranald explores the

Scottish countryside and befriends its inhabitants, his growing awareness of the world corresponds with a growing understanding of death and bereavement, and gradually needing to face his own grief. The goal of this chapter, then, is not to exhaust the entire subject of mortality in the text, but to demonstrate how MacDonald situates that awareness specifically within the story's Scottish context. In particular, it will examine how MacDonald engages the story with Scottish language, folklore, and landscape.

'I will not offend fastidious ears'

In the opening chapter, Ranald all but apologises for being Scottish. The passage is somewhat extraordinary, and worth quoting here in full:

> If I did not mention that I, Ranald Bannerman, am a Scotchman, I should be found out before long by the kind of thing I have to tell; for although England and Scotland are in all essentials one, there are such differences between them that one could tell at once, on opening his eyes, if he had been carried out of the one into the other during the night. I do not mean he might not be puzzled, but except there was an intention to puzzle him by a skilful selection of place, the very air, the very colours would tell him; or if he kept his eyes shut, his ears would tell him without his eyes. But I will not offend fastidious ears with any syllable of my rougher tongue. I will tell my story in English, and neither part of the country will like it the worse for that. (p. 2)

The primary difference between England and Scotland, Ranald suggests, is one of texture. Scotland is made distinct by its colouring, the look and feel and sound of the landscape. MacDonald, it should be remembered, wrote *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* while living in London as one of Scotland's literary diaspora; the journal *Good Words for the Young*, which serialised from 1869 to 1870, was a London publication by Strahan, primarily for an English readership.[5] MacDonald, however, shows neither compunction nor apology in extensively using Scots in his novels for adults; that he specifically abjures it in a Scottish children's story is, at the very least, puzzling.

Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson has written about MacDonald's lifelong pride in his Scots language; he wrote and lectured in strong local Aberdonian Doric at a time when it was unfashionable to do so.[6] She associates this specifically with his fond memories of his childhood and Scottish upbringing: 'Like many an exile, MacDonald clung to his native tongue and accent and sounded more strongly of his childhood home than those who had never left'.[7] This was, she says, 'a conscious matter of preservation' which 'acknowledged the integral role of language and of words themselves in the shaping of his stories, in the making of their meaning'.[8] Yet if the choice of language and words did indeed play an 'integral role' for how MacDonald created his stories, his decision to eschew Scots in *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* appears all the more puzzling. Raeper eloquently suggests that 'MacDonald translated his own boyhood into English' and that his 'ambiguity in relation to Scots is another example of the light and shade, the extraordinary dualism to be found in the Scottish character'.[9] It is not wholly satisfying, however, to simply blame the story's lack of Scots on national temper and leave it at that. The question remains why, if MacDonald saw his own Scots as a treasured link to his childhood, he would explicitly omit the language in a childhood memoir.

There is some implication in the text that MacDonald may have considered Scots inappropriate to teach children. David Robb has suggested that the scenes where Ranald and his brothers listen to Kirsty, the housekeeper, telling folktales are at least partly autobiographical, a putative source for MacDonald's wide knowledge of Scottish folklore.[10] But Ranald's narration declares that Kirsty 'did not speak a word of Scotch' (p. 46); she is a Gaelic speaker, and 'although her English was a little broken and odd', Ranald's father considers her a much more desirable influence than the 'coarse dialect of Mrs Mitchell' – that is, than Scots (p. 46). If this detail is indeed autobiographical, it may suggest that MacDonald preferred Gaelic stories told in English to Scots tales. This in turn may partly explain why Doric appears so frequently in his adult novels, but almost never in his children's books; this, then, would be the deliberate linguistic choice to write stories for children in the 'natural manners of the Celt', as if English were a second language.

But this does not explain, however, the sudden, almost defiant intrusions of Scots into the story. Though no Scots occurs in the narration or dialogue of even Scots-speaking characters, *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* includes no fewer than four of MacDonald's Scots poems. The first, which Ranald's sweetheart Elsie sings to him when he is ill, appears with a wholly unapologetic disclaimer:

> But here I must pause. Shall I be breaking my promise of not a word of Scotch in my story, if I give the song? True it is not a part of the story exactly, but it is in it. If my reader would like the song, he must have it in Scotch or not at all. I am not going to spoil it by turning it out of its own natural clothes into finer garments to which it was not born—I mean by translating it from Scotch into English. (p. 153)

At the inclusion of the second poem, the narrator appeals to this introduction, saying he will 'venture to try whether the same apology will not cover a second offence of the same sort' (p. 245). The third poem, which retells the legend of the selkie, begins in Scots but turns to English; the narrator declares 'I have modernized the ballad—indeed spoiled it altogether, for I have made this version from the memory of it—with only, I fear, just a touch here and there of the original expression' (p. 281). Again, because the poem has been given in English means it has been 'spoiled'; when MacDonald later included he poem in his collection *Scotch Songs and Ballads* (1893), he rewrote it wholly in Scots.[11]

For the Scots songs in *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood*, however, Ranald decides to 'give the song as something extra—call it a footnote slipped into the middle of the page' (p. 153). This, he says, makes it easy to glance over; on introducing the final Scots poem in the book, he reminds his readers 'once more how easy it is to skip it, if they do not care for that kind of thing' (p. 287). On the one hand, this appears as a compromise of sorts, deference to English readers who would find the Scots crude; certainly the narrator refers to English as 'finer garments' than the Scots original. On the other hand, if MacDonald was familiar with the publishing history of *Tam o' Shanter*, this appears more like a subtle, almost vindictive literary joke:

the poem in the footnote is intended to eclipse the ostensible main text. It may simply be that MacDonald's view of Scots is not Ranald Bannerman's; there is often a sharp bifurcation of author and narrator in MacDonald's children's stories. The division is exacerbated here still further by Ranald's insistence that his schoolmaster wrote the song. A different and distinct narrative voice thus appears, overriding Ranald's aversion for giving Scots to children by capitulating the main themes of the book in an emphatically Scots lyric:

> Oh! The bonny, bonny dell whaur the yorlin sings,
> Wi' a clip o' the sunshine atween his wings,
> Whaur the birks are a' straikit wi' fair munelict,
> And the broom hings its lamps by day and by nicht […]
> (p. 154, lines 1–4)

The poem celebrates the flowery 'bonny, bonny dell' chiefly because it is 'whaur I used to lie / Wi' Jeanie aside me, sae sweet and sae shy!', and compares Jeanie to 'the wee white gowan w' reid reid tips', which is 'as white as her cheek and as reid as her lips' (p. 155). In fact, for no apparent reason all the Scots poems in the story concern a girl named Jeanie; this is possibly either prolonged homage to Burns – who of course did have reason to write poems praising Jeanie – or simply because MacDonald thought it a suitable name for a ballad heroine. In *Scotch Song and Ballads*, at any rate, MacDonald changes two of the Jeanies to a Mally and a Nannie.[12]

It is worth observing that Burns used the 'yellow yellow yorlin''[13] and '[t]he op'ning gowan, wat wi' dew'[14] as highly erotic, barely veiled innuendos for female anatomy. Although it is by no means clear how or whether MacDonald would have read *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* (1799), it is certainly curious that he chose to refer to the particular bird and flower that Burns mentions, especially in a poem that praises Jeanie's sweet and shy beauty in the moonlight – a theme very near to Burns's own interests. Rather than direct textual allusion, it could, of course, simply be that MacDonald had familiarity with a ribald song tradition similar to that which Burns recorded; seen from this perspective, it becomes more difficult to

read passages such as 'the sliddery troot, wi' ae soop o its tail / Is awa' 'neath the green weed's swingin' veil!' as being entirely about duckweed and fish. An eroticised reading seems less trivial when it is remembered that Ranald is being sung to sleep by Elsie, a girl his own age toward whom he has inarticulate and conflicted emotions; listening to her, he explains, 'I was indeed in a kind of paradise' (p. 153). A sexually charged, confusingly ambiguous song about the Scottish landscape seems, in this context, not wholly inappropriate.

Yet perhaps a stronger and more informative allusion is James Hogg's 'Kilmeny' (1813), in which the pure young woman bound for peaceful, early death has 'gede up the glen' so she could 'heire the yorline syng'.[15] Here, at least, there is strong textual evidence that MacDonald certainly knew 'Kilmeny'; earlier, in the December 1869 issue of *Good Words for the Young*, he quoted the poem at some length for an instalment of *At the Back of the North Wind*, inviting the reader to compare the little boy in his story with the fey and innocent girl in Hogg's poem. The connection both to delight in the natural world and child death resonates with Ranald's narrative; Elsie will herself die when not much older than Kilmeny. The allusion serves to connect burgeoning sexual awareness with a foreshadowing the reality of physical death. In other words, the Scots poem presented as 'footnote slipped into the middle of the page' (p. 153), far from being inessential, encapsulates the central themes of the text.

'Wandering Willie'

As if this confluence of allusions were not enough, MacDonald evokes Burns again by explaining that the sun, looking down at the dell, cries – perhaps in response to the 'sliddering of the troot' – 'Here awa', there awa', haud awa', sin!' (p. 155). This, of course, quotes the refrain from Burns's poem about Wandering Willie;[16] the quotation does not simply indicate MacDonald knew the poem, but underscores that he wished the reader to connect the subject of the poem with the action of the narrative. Burns's song has been alluded to earlier in the story; the local rambling piper, Ranald explains, has earned himself the name, 'called after the old song' (p. 87). A shambling beggar, however, Wandering Willie has only a few pages of

benign introduction before he emerges as a distinct physical threat to the children. The reference to the lyric proves to be a red herring; no fruitful comparison can be drawn between MacDonald's character and Burns's song; MacDonald seems here to be evoking Burns merely to give his lyric the sound and cadence of a traditional Scottish song.

A more likely literary source for Wandering Willie appears to Walter Scott's blind fiddler in *Redgauntlet* (1824), who is also named after 'the beautiful Scottish air'.[17] But if so, it is one of vigorous contrast. Scott's narrator describes Wandering Willie as a bearded old man, 'wild and adventurous looking',[18] wearing a 'long loose-bodied greatcoat (wrap-rascal as the vulgar call it)' and 'a decent silk handkerchief well knotted about his throat, under which peeped a clear owerlay', giving the general impression of being 'clean, notwithstanding the meanness of his attire'.[19] MacDonald's mad piper, on the other hand, looks like 'a moving grove of raggery, out of which came the screaming chant and drone of his instrument' (p. 88). It is, the narrator declares, 'impossible to describe Willie's dress: the agglomeration of ill-supplied necessity and superfluous whim was never exceeded'. (p. 88) He wears 'whatever gay-colored cotton handkerchiefs he could […] spread out across back and chest' (p. 88). It is by no means certain that these 'gay-colored cotton handkerchiefs' of the mad piper are meant as deliberate contrast with the 'decent silk handkerchief' of the blind fiddler, but the detail is striking, nonetheless.

Scott's fiddler appears the earthy embodiment of a particular folk type: the sturdy, curmudgeonly travelling musician, too 'fierce, brawling, [and] dissolute' to be a gentleman, but, in certain moods, appearing 'quiet, decorous, I might almost say respectable'.[20] He is, in other words, a canny man of the people, with shrewd animal wits and deep roots in the folk traditions of Scotland. Cleanliness, indeed, seems to be this Wandering Willie's main feature; his clean appearance indicates his clean, wholesome conscience and healthy mind, as well as the cleanness of his fiddle playing and the clarity with which he can retell old folk traditions. He offers the reader, vicariously through the characters, a lively and vigorous personification of the Scottish folk and their wisdom. As an embodiment if not personification of the folk tradition, in all its roughness and artistic vitality, Wandering

Willie the blind fiddler is able on several occasions to lend aid to the genteel protagonists. Ultimately, folk traditions about Wandering Willie himself are invoked to support veracity of the whole story.

The piper in *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* is of wholly different stock. Far from being 'almost respectable', he is a tattered mess; Ranald remarks that '[s]o incongruous was his costume that I could never tell whether kilt or trousers was the original foundation upon which had been constructed' (p. 88). His melange of handkerchiefs is assembled merely from interest: 'the agglomeration of ill-supplied necessity and superfluous whim was never exceeded' (p. 88). If this Wandering Willie is also considered as an embodiment of the folk tradition, this Wandering Willie is more complex, and more accurate: part of his apparel may be Scottish or it may not, may be recognisably tradition or may be imported, may be old or may be new, and is gathered through simple, indiscriminate pleasure with whatever is at hand. Read in this light, this is a striking, evocative image of how any particular folklore tradition is created over time.[21] Nor is he 'almost respectable', whether read simply as a piper or as a folk tradition in need of a gentlemanly collector to put in order; he is dissonant and disjunct, potentially harmful. His pipes 'scream' and 'wail', and the spiteful old nurse Mrs Mitchell, whom the children call 'the Kelpie', uses his strange appearance to threaten the children: 'that, if so and so, she would give this one or that one to Foolish Willie to take away with him' (p. 89).

In this sense, Wandering Willie could be seen as akin to the 'raggle-taggle gypsies-o': the outsider used as a nursery bogeyman, allowing the character to be dismissed as a case of prejudice against either mental disability or homelessness, or both. But Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson has rightly observed that Wandering Willie is something of an anomaly in MacDonald's work; he includes a surprising frequency of disabled characters, mostly depicted as being integrated as vital, respected members of their local communities.[22] Wandering Willie, she suggests, is feared because he 'does not belong to a community but is a wanderer', citing George Gray's claim that 'only such "visitors" caused communal concern'.[23] Yet, while this understanding is correct as far as it goes, in a very real sense Wandering Willie is not an outsider at all. MacDonald portrays Ranald and his friends

enjoying a healthy familiarity with the folk tradition, largely mediated through the stories of their Highland housekeeper, Kirsty. Whereas Scott's fiddler is a distinct if admirable other, a mediator between the genteel protagonists and the rough honesty of the folk, the mad piper is often about Ranald's house as a kind of neighbour; even the dour old nurse, who uses the piper as substitute bogeyman, treats him with atypical kindness, always giving to him generously from the farm larder – almost her only act of kindness in the whole story. The children, too, grow fond of him despite their nurse's threats; even 'wee Davie', the littlest of Ranald's brothers, 'would be playing with the dangles of [Wandering Willie's] pipes and laying his ear to the bag out of which he thought the music came ready-made' (p. 88). Rather than being an outsider, Wandering Willie the piper is accepted by the characters as one of them; the disjointed and dishevelled tradition that he embodies is recognised as their own. Ranald explains: 'Whether it was from our Highland blood or from Kirsty's stories I do not know, but we were always delighted when the far-off sound of his pipes reached us' (p. 87).

This familiarity makes the ultimate menace and danger of the piper all the more jarring to the reader; Wandering Willie does, indeed, steal away wee Davie, just as the Kelpie threatened. If he is meant, even in part, as a personification of Scottish folk culture – as his role as a piper seems to suggest – then it is a far darker, less flattering picture than that of Scott. Wandering Willie the piper has about his person all the rags and oddments of the old tradition, but no coherence or respectability. MacDonald seems to be suggesting, however implicitly, a danger inherent to the jumble of incoherent folk memories; the piper abducts the little boy who showed the most fascination with the bagpipes. The sense of threat is underscored still further when Ranald, with his friend and hero Turkey the cowherd, set out to rescue wee Davie. They find the boy in Wandering Willie's encampment:

> On this knoll grew some stunted trees, gnarled and old, with very mossy stems. There was moss on the stones, too, and between them grew lovely harebells, and at the foot of the knoll there were always

> in the season tall foxgloves, which had imparted a certain fear to the spot in my fancy. For there they call them *Dead Men's Bells*, and I thought there was a murdered man buried somewhere thereabout. I should not have liked to be there alone even in broad daylight. (p. 91, emphasis in original)

What begins as a picturesque description of the Scottish countryside quickly takes a turn for the morbid and ominous; the 'lovely' flowers become a suggestion of murder, inspiring unholy terror in Ranald, and deepening still further the sense of threat surrounding wee Davie's abduction. Here the folk traditions that Wandering Willie represents are shown in their darker aspect. The location of 'there', in which foxgloves are called 'Dead Men's Bells', presumably indicates Ranald's general area of north Scotland, but the ambiguity of the phrase makes it seem to refer to that particular knoll, giving the anecdotes the immediacy and rootedness of a local legend. The seeming great age of the place, indicated by the moss on the stones and trees, and its associated horror and half-remembered bloodshed, appear to embody an older, more coherent preservation of folk tradition than Wandering Willie's raggedy pipes.

This unspoken fear of death surrounds Willie's abduction of wee Davie, made visible by the place and character of the Scottish landscape. Ranald's abstracted fear of the bleak knoll and the Dead Men's Bells are given tangible form in the seemingly motiveless malice of the mad piper. This threat, through the destructive elements of the disjointed folk traditions that Wandering Willie embodies, is allowed to remain confusing and inexplicable, drawing both Ranald and, through him, the reader to stories embodied in the Scottish countryside itself: beauty growing out of forgotten violence, leaving behind both a present charm and a lingering memory of terror. Scott's fiddler tells a story of a dark forest and the devil, but the reader is quickly returned with the genteel protagonist to the rustic comforts of a country dance; MacDonald's piper tells no tale, but his awkward, disorderly preservation of the folk tradition pulls inexorably to the older, violent roots of a haunted landscape.

'Dead Men's Bells'

This was not the first time that MacDonald had presented a Scottish childhood tormented by the ghosts of the Scottish landscape. *The Portent*, originally serialised by Thackeray in *Cornhill Magazine* in 1860, begins with a description of a Scottish farm:

> Except a few acres of arable land at its foot, a bare hill formed almost the whole of my father's possessions. There sheep ate over it, and found it good for good; I raced and bounded over it, and thought it a kingdom.[24]

Since *The Portent* is a Gothic novel, it quickly emerges this boy's 'kingdom' is haunted and threatened by unseen forces. Duncan protests somewhat too vigorously that he never saw anything that frightened him in his hillside haunt:

> Full as my mind was of the wild and sometimes fearful tales of a Highland nursery, fear never entered my mind by the eyes; nor, when I brooded over tales of terror, and fancied new and yet more frightful embodiments of horror, did I shudder at any imaginable spectacle, or tremble lest the fancy should become fact, and from behind the whin-bush or the elder-hedge should glide forth the tall swaying form of the Boneless.[25]

Here, Duncan's protestations aside, folktales are presented as containing the power to render the ordinary textures of a hillside into bogles and terrors.[26] In fact the only reason that Duncan does not fear such visions in the story is the conceit, central to the story's Gothic trappings and brooding dénouement, that he is only afraid of things he can hear. He explains, 'I could scare myself in broad daylight, on the open hill-side, by imaginary and unintelligible sounds; and my imagination was both original and fertile in the invention of such'.[27] Note that, though these childhood terrors do not include the visible transmogrification of the elder-bush into the

Boneless, they still occur on 'the open hill-side'; the fears root themselves firmly in the material Scottish landscape of the boy's play. If Duncan did not imagine he saw the Boneless or some other bogle gliding through the gorse, certainly he seems to have imagined that he heard it slithering on the cold hill's side.

The landscape in *The Portent* is suitably ominous, as befits a Scottish Gothic novel. Yet, even in more realistic, pensive work, MacDonald seems to have imbued the Scottish countryside with a sense of foreboding, if not threat. His short story 'The Bell', which he included in his frame novel *Adela Cathcart* (1864),[28] seems to be a direct contemporary of *The Portent*; it similarly situates the protagonist's sensory participation in the landscape of northeast Scotland as a key thematic revelation. The story is curious, and useful to examine in this context for a number of reasons: first, because of the close association of the Scottish countryside with the fear of death, and second, because of the character of Feel Jock, a mentally disabled character who in some ways seems to prefigure Wandering Willie.

The landscape of the story is, as other critics have noted,[29] meticulously realistic; it is set in Ruthven, near Huntly, in MacDonald's native Aberdeenshire, and the character Feel Jock appears to be literary portrait of the historical John McBey, the Huntly resident who bore that nickname.[30] Unlike Wandering Willie, who presents a physical threat to the children in the story, Feel Jock is shown to be the victim of 'persecution by the children' of the village (p. 117). But their childish taunts, though a 'constant source of irritation and annoyance' (p. 117) they are largely ineffectual; the children call him names him to make him lose his temper and wander off when bored (pp. 113–14). Though, through the narrator and the protagonist, MacDonald clearly disapproves of the children's behaviour, it is self-evidently of a different quality of danger than Wandering Willie's abduction of wee Davie.

The narrative of 'The Bell' centres on Feel Jock's friendship with an epileptic young woman, Elsie. Feel Jock has developed a fascination with the ruined kirk at Ruthven and mimics the sound of its bell with a singsong chant, 'Come hame, come hame! The wow, the wow!' (p. 121). This utterance intrigues Elsie, but she does not understand its full import until, after

discovering that her sweetheart has been false to her, she takes 'a solitary walk' at sunset. The incident is striking, and worth quoting in full:

> Passing from the little garden gate, she went along a bare country road for some distance, and then, turning aside by a footpath through a thicket of low trees, she came out in a lonely little churchyard on the hill-side. Hardly knowing whether or not she had intended to go there, she seated herself on a mound covered with long grass, one of many. Before her stood the ruins of an old church which was taking centuries to crumble. Little remained by the gable-wall, immensely thick, and covered with ancient ivy. The rays of the setting sun fell on a mound at its foot, not green like the rest, but of a rich, red-brown in the rosy sunset, and evidently but newly heaped up. Her eyes, too, rested upon it. Slowly the sun sank below the near horizon.
>
> As the last brilliant point disappeared, the ivy darkened, and a wind arose and shook all its leaves, making them look cold and troubled; and to Elsie's ear came a low faint sound, as from a far-off bell. But close beside her—and she started and shivered at the sound—rose a deep, monotonous, almost sepulchral voice: '*Come hame, come hame! The wow, the wow!*' (pp. 120–21) (emphasis in original)

The churchyard, Elsie realises, is 'the ancient parish church of Ruthven'; the wind echoes in the bell, and this sound Feel Jock has interpreted as a call to come home. In the long grass and ruined stone of the hillside, sitting among the overgrown gravestones, Elsie has her apotheosis: 'And though the ground was hard, and the sky overhead far and boundless, and the hill-side lonely and companionless, yet somewhere within the visible, and beyond these outer surfaces of creation, there might be a home for her' (p. 121).[31] The home, as the story goes on to make clear, is found both in and through physical death.

The passage recalls the 'ivy-mantled tow'r' of Thomas Gray, and the ruined churchyards and cottages of Wordsworth's *The Excursion* and related works; MacDonald certainly drew heavily from the Romantics, particularly in his spiritualising of nature, and the ruins in 'The Bell' share a similar

memento mori to theirs. His description, too, of Feel Jock's 'almost sepulchral voice' may echo the 'fond sepulchral flattery' which cannot 'beguile / Grief of her sting' from Wordsworth's 1831 cycle of Scottish sonnets.[32] The ruins and echoes in either case reinforce in inevitability of death. With Elsie as with Ranald and Duncan, out of the apparent beauty of the Scottish landscape emerges the reminder of – and even invitation to – death and whatever lies beyond. For Elsie and Feel Jock, both adults, the landscape's intrinsic *memento mori* creates a sombre joy, a spiritual revelation of a home 'beyond these outer surfaces of creation'; for Duncan and Ranald, however, both children, it creates fear.

'Haunted with bagpipes'

If there is a central pedagogical purpose to *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood*, it seems to be frank discussion with its child readers about death, and the fear of death. Those elements which could be called most distinctly Scottish in *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* – the language, the folklore, and the landscape – appear to be closely bound with Ranald's *memento mori.* His vivid recollections of a Scottish childhood are thus edged with fear and a growing awareness of life's fragility, heightened by the deaths of his mother and brother, and culminating in the death of his childhood sweetheart. Similarly, the traditions of song and folklore become personified in the shambling, intriguing but frightening, friendly but dangerous, figure of Wandering Willie. Thus, he becomes the victim of a curious, arresting ire. When Ranald and Turkey the cowherd arrive to rescue wee Davie, the mode they find to vanquish Wandering Willie borders on the ludicrous. While Ranald runs away with wee Davie on his back, Turkey runs away with the bagpipes. When Wandering Willie, 'his rags fluttering like ten scarecrows, and he waving his arms in the air, with wild gestures and grimaces and cries and curses', pursues the little boy instead of Turkey and the pipes, Turkey's actions grow more drastic:

> Then came Turkey's masterpiece. He dashed the pipes on the ground, and commenced kicking them before him like a football, and the pipes cried out at every kick. If Turkey's first object had been utter

> demolition, he could not have treated them more unmercifully. It was no time for gentle measure: my life hung in the balance. (pp. 94–95)

Wandering Willie appears to have clear murderous intent; the boys respond by pummelling his bagpipes. Turkey lures the piper away from Ranald and wee Davie by proceeding to kick the pipes, throwing them into the bog.

There is something almost absurdist about this incident. By the time MacDonald wrote this passage, certainly, the bagpipes had become recognised as a national symbol of Scotland. It seems strange, at the very least, for a supposed fond memoir of Scottish childhood to contain the dramatic tableau of a boy savagely kicking a pair of bagpipes round the countryside and flinging them into a bog. It is too glib to say that this represents a rejection of Scottishness; the visceral, anarchic bagpipe kicking seems rather a reaction against the awareness of death and mortality that the Scottish landscape and language preserve. This appears more clearly in another, even more ludicrous sequence. After Ranald returns safely home with wee Davie, he falls into a fever, and has a peculiarly Scottish nightmare:

> That night I was delirious, and haunted with bagpipes. Wandering Willie was nowhere, but the atmosphere was full of bagpipes. It was an unremitting storm of bagpipes—silent, but assailing me bodily from all quarter—now small as motes in the sun, and hailing upon me; now large as feather-beds, and ready to bang us about, only they never touched us; now huge as Mount Ætna, and threatening to smother us beneath their ponderous bulk; for all the time I was toiling on with little Davie on my back. (p. 98)

The dream is bizarre, even by MacDonald's standards of dream narratives; certainly it provides unusual fodder for biographers. Rather than any deathly phantoms and devils such as haunted Duncan in *The Portent*, Ranald is haunted by a cacophony of monstrous, grotesque, size-shifting bagpipes, bent on murder. The dream connects to Ranald's fear – not just of death, but specifically between the death of his mother and brother; now, some years later, in order to save another brother's life, he must confront a demonic

army of bagpipes. Though the personification of Scotland and Scottish folk tradition may be vanquished, the tradition itself still looms and menaces the children. Significantly, it is Kirsty, the English-speaking Gaelic storyteller, who nurses Ranald through his illness. MacDonald seems to suggest that though the nightmares of a haunted Scottish childhood may be terrible yet, like the bell in Ruthven kirk, the old stories offer a way through their own labyrinth – out of mindless fear to empathetic experience of death.

In the end, the confrontation with Wandering Willie leaves many questions unanswered. Nor is Wandering Willie, as a personification of a Scottish folk tradition, wholly a villain. He becomes, instead, an empathetic, even a tragic figure. Turkey and Ranald turn on the piper and savage his pipes in rage against child death, against their own physical danger, asserting their mastery over the haunted place. But in a moment of troubling lucidity, the symbolic import of the bagpipes, and the tradition they represent changes. Willie cradles the bagpipes 'as if it had been the mangled corpse of his son' (p. 96); rather than an enemy to be defeated, they emerge as a stark, harrowing reminder of reality of bereavement. The half-feared tradition carries in itself the pain, the anger, and the perplexity of a child confronting a landscape haunted with death:

> Willie followed the pipes, took them, held them up between him and the sky as if appealing to heaven against the cruelty, then sat town in the middle of the bog on a solitary hump, and cried like a child. (p. 96)

Notes

1 The author wishes thank Ms Rebecca Langworthy for her unflagging source-hunting during the composition of this article.

2 William Raeper, *George MacDonald* (Tring: Lion, 1987), p. 28ff. Greville MacDonald, *George MacDonald and His Wife* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1924), p. 361, similarly relies on *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* as a dependable narrative of his father's childhood, admitting that the story has been 'freely quoted in this Biography' (cf. the lengthy quotations on pp. 55, 58, 65). He offers no explanation as to why a work of fiction is given this importance. There is, to my knowledge, no hard evidence yet put forward that MacDonald intended this work as autobiography; absent further research, and despite clear parallels, direct identification of Ranald Bannerman with the youthful George MacDonald should be treated as conjecture.

3 Greville MacDonald, p. 52.
4 George MacDonald, *Ranald Bannerman's Boyhood* (London: Strahan & Co., 1871), p. 7. All subsequent references given parenthetically in the body of the essay are to this edition.
5 Cf. Tania Scott, 'Good Words: *At the Back of the North Wind* and the Periodical Press', *North Wind*, 29 (2010): 40–41.
6 Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson, 'Rooted in all its Story, More is Meant than Meets the Ear: A Study of the Relational and Revelational Nature of George Macdonald's Mythopoeic Art' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2011), p. 48ff.
7 Jeffrey Johnson, p. 49.
8 Jeffrey Johnson, p. 50.
9 Raeper, p. 192.
10 David S. Robb, '"Perhaps He Will Need to Love Scotland Too": The Importance of George MacDonald's Scottish Sources', in *George MacDonald: Literary Heritage and Heirs*, ed. Roderick McGillis, (Wayne, PA: Zossima, 2008), pp. 7–24 (pp. 19–20).
11 MacDonald's achievements as a Scots poet has not, to my knowledge, been studied in any depth. This is regrettable, as a cursory examination suggests that he had greater natural facility in Scots poetry than English.
12 George MacDonald, *Scotch Songs and Ballads* (Aberdeen: John Rae Smith, 1893).
13 Robert Burns, *The Merry Muses of Caledonia: A Collection of Favourite Scots Songs, Ancient and Modern, Selected for Use of the Crochallan Fencibles,* 1799, ed. and intro. by G. Ross Roy (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), p. 47–48. For a more detailed discussion of the convoluted textual history of *The Merry Muses*, with special consideration for the recent Luath edition of the text, see Valentina Bold, 'On Editing *The Merry Muses*', in *Robert Burns & Friends: essays by W. Ormiston Roy Fellows presented to G. Ross Roy,* ed. P. Scott and K. Simpson (Columbia: Scottish Literature Series, 2012), pp. 95–107.
14 Robert Burns, 'Song', in *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. by James Kinsley, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), I, 7–9, line 15.
15 James Hogg, 'Kilmeny', in *The Queen's Wake: A Legendary Poem*, ed. by Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 92, lines 1347, 1351.
16 Burns, 'Here awa', there awa", in *The Songs of Poems of Robert Burns* (see above), II, 670–71.
17 Walter Scott, *Redgauntlet,* 2 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1824), II, 197–98.
18 Scott, I, 207.
19 Scott, I, 205, 206.
20 Scott, I, 267.
21 Greville MacDonald, p. 77 note 2, identifies this description of Wandering Willie as one of his favourite passages from his father's work. The description, Greville argues, 'bears witness to my father's lively observation as a boy and his masterly word as a man'; he quotes it at length and drawing particular attention to a description of Willie's dancing as looking 'like a whirlwind that had caught up the contents of an old clothes shop' (cp. *Ranald Bannerman*, p. 88). Curiously, Greville seems to relate this image, and the manner of describing it, to a particularly Scottish cast of mind, exclaiming 'Celtic sense of art gone mad indeed, but still not unlovely!' (p. 77 note 2).

22 Jeffrey Johnson, p. 30–32. Jeffrey Johnson notes that 'almost every one of [MacDonald's] novels, as well as some of his poetry and non-fiction writing, engages with the issues of those persons typically withdrawn or hidden from community in nineteenth-century England and urban Scotland', identifying '[p]ersons with varying degrees of mental challenges – both permanent as well as temporary – persons of emotional fragility, persons with severe physical handicaps, persons who are suicidal ([and] sometimes persons carrying the weight of more than one of these burdens)' (p. 31).
23 Jeffrey Johnson, p. 31, note 36.
24 George MacDonald, 'The Portent', *The Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 1 (May 1860): 617–30; 670–81; vol 2 (1860): 74–83 (vol. 1, p. 617).
25 MacDonald, 'The Portent ', p. 618.
26 Raeper, p. 33, it should be observed, shows no compunction in calmly presenting Duncan's nightmares as strict autobiography.
27 MacDonald, 'The Portent ', p. 619.
28 George MacDonald, *Adela Cathcart* (Whitehorn, CA: Johanessen, 1994). All subsequent references given parenthetically in the body of the chapter are to this edition.
29 Notably Raeper, p. 360–361; Greville MacDonald reproduces an 1891 letter from George MacDonald to his wife, Louisa, written during a visit back to Huntly and recounting a visit to the ruined chapel at Ruthven; MacDonald remarks, 'Right at the foot of the belfry the fool of my story is buried, with a gravestone set up by the people of Huntly telling about him, and how he thought that bell, now above his body, always said, "Come hame, come hame"' (p. 521). Oddly, MacDonald also remarks that 'I had never been there before' (p. 521), raising a complexity of questions about the way in which the story portrays the Scottish landscape, which are lamentably beyond the scope of this present analysis. For a detailed treatment of the local history behind the story, see Madge Lobban, 'John McBey and the "Wow o' Rivven"', *North Wind*, 10 (1991): 10–13.
30 MacDonald has the story's narrator claim that 'the fool is a real character, in every point' (*Adela Cathcart*, p. 127), and adds reminiscences of meeting him as a boy. Lobban, pp. 10, 13, discusses McBey's presence in George Gray's *Recollections of Huntly as it was 70 Years Ago* (1892), a portrait c.1848, and McBey's tombstone and epigraph, which correlate directly to MacDonald's story.
31 For a more detailed discussion of the importance of *home* as theme in MacDonald's children's stories, see Daniel Gabelman, *George MacDonald: Divine Carelessness and Fairytale Levity* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013), chapter 7.
32 William Wordsworth, 'The Earl of Breadalbane's Ruined Mansion, and Family Burial-Place, near Killin', in *Yarrow Revisited and Other Poems* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1834), p. 19.

14. Betwixt-and-Between: Barrie, Shakespeare, and Playing at Childhood

CAITLIN R. HANSEN

> Rather in the manner of children who fall out of their prams, Scottish children's literature has been unclaimed by either the Scottish literature community or by the children's literature community.[1]

> [The lost boys] are the children who fall out of their prams when the nurse is looking the other way. If they are not claimed in seven days they are sent far away to the Never Land.[2]

It is common cultural knowledge that 'all children, except one, grow up'. It is perhaps less universally known that Peter Pan flew from his nursery as a week-old infant to an island in the middle of Kensington Gardens, only to lose his faith and consequently his ability to fly, and therefore to be declared (by a wise old crow) a 'Betwixt-and-Between'.[3] This unsettled designation follows the iconic character in his various iterations as he and his story evolve, feeding off the energy generated by tensions between home and escape, safety and adventure, imagination and reality, and childhood and adulthood. It is also a title that applies to the generic instability of the narrative,[4] and to J. M. Barrie himself as a literary figure. In studies of juvenile literature in general, and certainly any that focus specifically on Scottish children's literature, there is a tendency to hold Barrie up as one of Scotland's main voices; the irony of this, though, is that both his manifest Scottishness, and his status as a writer for children, have often been called into question by fellow Scots and authors, scholars, and critics at large.

The recurring challenging of the very things for which Barrie is most well-known as a writer highlights those productive tensions that make his work unique and essential to seeing Scottish literature for children as a distinct genre. Like Peter Pan (and his stories), Barrie is concerned with

the liminal spaces between childhood and adulthood, and fantasy and reality – pairings which ultimately, this chapter will seek to demonstrate, portray imaginative and political relationships between Scotland and England. Writers dealing with these kinds of oppositions rely upon precise tools to make the most of them; Barrie's kit is extensive, including genre play, self-conscious narrative, and relentless revision (all, not coincidentally, noted characteristics of Scottish fiction more broadly). In order to explore these oppositions and tensions, this chapter considers the subtle but sig-nificant influence of Shakespeare on Barrie as a writer for children, and on his redefinition of the concept of the child at the close of the long nineteenth century.

Shakespeare, like Barrie, demonstrates a sustained fascination with in-between spaces and a tendency also to be characterised by that liminality. He was recast over the course of the nineteenth century as both a nationalistic symbol, and an author whose works might be beneficial and entertaining for children.[5] Garrick's 1769 Jubilee set the stage for the rise of Bardolatry which would reach its head in the nineteenth century and secure Shakespeare's role as England's national poet.[6] Coinciding as it did with developments in education and child-rearing (as well as publishing), this popularity led to the incorporation of Shakespeare's works into school materials, as well as to adaptations specifically for children and families. Such repurposing leads to fragmentation of identity; in *Reinventing Shakespeare*, Gary Taylor writes that 'the nineteenth century sawed Shakespeare in two. The childlike Shakespeare of Lamb and Bowdler emphasised, by contrast, the dangerous sexual adult of the unexpurgated texts'.[7] This Jekyll-and-Hyde view of Shakespeare resonates with the way we have come to see Barrie, and the way in which he asks readers to see childhood. Rather than being sentimental or idealised, children for Barrie are 'gay and innocent and heartless'. Like Shakespeare before him, Barrie 'recognizes in [children] an element of cruelty'[8] – the cruelty of forgetting, the irretrievability of the past, and the Darling children's faces as they assume 'the awful craftiness of children listening for sounds from the grown-up world'.[9] The unexpected harshness of the child becomes a source of autonomy; that this empowerment is derived from Shakespeare

and directed towards a juvenile audience is an underexplored distinguishing feature of Barrie's work, and a primary concern of this chapter.

Both writers constructed through their dramas parallel notions of childhood that differed considerably from the status quo. The child figure in the nineteenth century ranges from the essentialised Romantic embodiment of naïve simplicity to Dickens' sentimental victims, with Barrie's rise coinciding with the denouement of the nineteenth century's 'Cult of the Child'.[10] Marah Gubar argues that, contrary to popular understanding, figures generally associated with the Cult, like Barrie and Lewis Carroll, were in fact ambivalent toward conceptions of the child as innocent Other, and 'conflicted about the issue of how to conceive of children'.[11] Karen McGavock, too, suggests that there might be more method to Barrie's child mania than is initially apparent, looking at his work as 'challenging the conventional representation of children in the Edwardian era and undermining [prevalent] sentimental construction[s]'.[12] Indeed, Barrie's conception of childhood diverges sharply from the popular sentimental, idolising portrayals, allowing Peter Pan to become, as McGavock writes, 'a catalyst for change in the representation of childhood'.[13] He draws upon Shakespeare to posit a modern notion of the child as both character and reader, empowered by natural imaginative aptitude and mimetic inclinations.

Child characters in Shakespeare's plays have frequently been dismissed as objects of sentiment, expendable victims, and generally unsuccessful dramatic characters,[14] with critics only recently noting their value. Defined simultaneously by play and by a gravity which colours and disrupts that play, they appear not as little victims, but as self-aware performers. Figures like Macduff's son, *The Winter's Tale's* Mamillius, and Richard III's ill-fated nephews haunt the plays' margins, mimetically echoing their imagery and offering indelible expressions of dominant themes – the importance of childhood among them. Barrie inverts this model by bringing children centre stage and moving the adult world to the periphery, but his characters exhibit that same tendency to replicate their surroundings in broad but accurate strokes, creating something new and compelling in the process.

Barrie demonstrated an ongoing awareness of Shakespeare, writing his own versions of several plays, incorporating character names and a

performance of *As You Like It* into his *Rosalind*, and invoking the playwright's structures, themes and even language in many of his major works.[15] In *Peter Pan*, his reliance on Shakespearean models helps him to navigate those thematically integral liminal spaces and to transform that indeterminate threshold area into a source of creative power. This allows him to take ownership of that betwixt-and-between status to carve out a space for distinctly Scottish children's literature. Resisting the dreaded 'anxiety of influence' in favour of a conscious, productive indebtedness, he develops an authorial approach grounded in both tradition, and in a childlike way of re-seeing that tradition. With each Shakespearean allusion or echo, he reinforces the parallelism between the dynamic pairings of childhood/adulthood, fantasy/reality and Scotland/England, and assigns to the traditionally 'weaker' ones agency through imaginative control. Through this respectful appropriation of England's national poet and treasured literary patriarch, he is able to distinguish himself as an author and playwright, and give to juvenile literature by Scottish authors a voice of creative autonomy deeply rooted in its own tumultuous history.

In order to appreciate Barrie's use of Shakespeare, it is important to consider how his work and reputation have continually been complicated by the very things which seem to define them: his status as a Scottish author, and his identity as an author of works for children. Although childhood is a pervasive motif throughout Barrie's work, few of his works can be considered children's literature. Even *Peter Pan*, which is considered by many to be a quintessential children's story, might be deemed inappropriately dark or complex. Jacqueline Rose famously takes Barrie as representative of the inevitable and problematic power dynamics of writing for children. With its odd narrator, sardonic representations of adult interactions, and mature themes and commentary, *The Little White Bird* is certainly not a book for children. But the story of Peter Pan contained within it has always been intended for a juvenile audience, and the oddity derived from the differing perspectives is seen by many as a great triumph of the work. Peter Hollindale argues that the 'multiple dramatic voice' is part of what makes the play great: 'It speaks for and to the child in the audience directly', does not allow 'its brilliant verbal games to smother the immediate life of action and adventure'

and makes a 'world of fantasy accessible for audiences of every age and level of sophistication'.[16] It is fitting that Barrie, known for his childlike perspective and interest in the creative interactions of adults and children, would gravitate towards children's literature as a vehicle for self-definition. The role of the child as reader (and theatergoer) is a clear influence on Barrie, and a definite legacy of the bridge which he built for children's literature between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Barrie explores the origins of the Peter Pan story in his 1928 Dedication to *Peter Pan*, denying any memory of having written it and attributing its genesis instead to violent caprice of juvenile creativity. Addressing the Llewelyn Davies boys, he writes: 'You had played it until you tired of it, and tossed it in the air and gored it and left it derelict in the mud and went on your way singing other songs; and then I stole back and sewed some of the gory fragments together with a pen-nib. This is what must have happened, but I cannot remember doing it'.[17] Whimsical, coy, yet oddly and unsettlingly violent, this testimony is Barrie through and through. It demonstrates both his unique conception of childhood, and his tendency to impose deliberate distance – what Hollindale calls a 'conspicuous intermediate persona between his creations and their audience'.[18]

This detachment is the kind of thing that critics like Rose find troubling about Barrie as a children's writer; it is also a potential reason for his questionable reputation in Scotland. The criticisms levelled against Barrie as a representative of his native country tend to be focused around three primary betrayals: fleeing to London and making his name there, renouncing his Scottishness in the process and neglecting Scottish themes in his work, and/or, ridiculing his own people for the entertainment of Southern audiences. It is certain that Barrie relied on his roots to rise in the ranks and get his foot in the English literary door. But his relation to these representations was never uncomplicated. The *Auld Licht Idylls* stories which would eventually secure his success are populated with raw material drawn from his mother's reminiscences. When he tried to move on to other subjects, his editor famously responded with: 'But I liked that Scotch thing. Any more of those?' So, Barrie writes in *Margaret Ogilvy*, 'I sent him a marriage, and he took it, and then I tried him with a funeral, and he took it, and

it really did look as if we had him […]. My mother […] was racking her brains, by request, for memories I might convert into articles'.[19] While this does show Barrie's willingness to exploit his rural homeland, even at the expense of his own artistic integrity, it also opens the door for a desire to let Scotland inform his creative efforts in less literal, less sentimental and more fundamental ways. Shakespeare is a convenient barometer for gauging his progression in this respect, in that the playwright is represented positively in his childhood, with conflict in his controversially prosaic stories, and as a subtly pervasive force throughout his career.

Like most writers worth their snuff, Barrie boasts a relationship with Shakespeare that begins early and refuses to subside for the duration of his life's work. In his early teen years, Barrie left home for Dumfries where he would attend school, play pirate-themed games destined for immortality on the grounds of Moat Brae House,[20] produce his first play with the Academy's drama club, and, evidently, attend the theatre. The Dumfries Theatre Royal's resident company produced a steady stream of burlesques, melodramas and highlights from Shakespeare that clearly attracted Barrie's attention.[21] In *The Greenwood Hat*, he sets the scene as follows:

> At our theatre there are no relays of actors: and the gentleman who was Prince of Denmark from seven till eight, was the melancholy Jacques and Macbeth a little later in the evening, was throwing kisses from the foot of the balcony to Juliet at half-past ten, and had an Irish brogue as Handy Andy at eleven. Mercutio was killed only to rush on to the next scene as someone else; and one man played five different characters, including two of the witches in *Macbeth*.[22]

From the possessive 'our' at the onset to the ridiculous accumulation of star turns, this fond but folly-laden depiction of a provincial theatre and its dogged, frenetic stage energy is both proud and patronising. It is an early representation of Barrie's relationship to his own roots, and it is no coincidence that both theatricality, and Shakespeare himself, are at its ambitiously chaotic heart.

The final tale of *Auld Licht Idylls*, 'A Literary Club', is a concise vignette detailing the constituency and activity of this 'most notorious' of organisations in Thrums, a town whose ministers 'did not hold with literature'.[23] When literature and its followers are driven from the town-house by a disapproving minister, the group heads to a tavern where they 'kept the blinds down and talked openly of Shakspeare [sic]'.[24] As in the depiction of the Dumfries Theatre, there is in this piece a fond admiration for the members' scrappy intellectualism, for the legendary eloquence, 'curious as it may seem', of the poachers and weavers. But it is at the same time infused with scorn for the town's small-mindedness, and the ultimate futility of the club's admirable efforts. One club member (Tammas) buys a 'copy of Shakespeare' from a peddler of books and pamphlets and hides it from his wife, but the truth will out. The wife reported her husband's 'deterioration' to the minister, who was 'newly placed at the time and very vigorous'; 'he pulled Tammas the one way and [the club president] pulled him the other', and the minister 'landed Tammas in the Auld Licht Kirk before the year was out. Christy buried Shakspeare in the yard.'[25] This is the end of the story, and the end of *Auld Licht Idylls* – effectively Barrie's last word on rural Scotland before moving on to his more central (and less Scottish) themes. Cairns Craig recognises this refusal as an ironic counterpoint to Barrie's own progression down the literary road, and the burial of Shakespeare as a triumph of the parochial over the literary.[26] But it is also possible, particularly given Barrie's ongoing debt to *Treasure Island,* to see this as a kind of untroubled ownership – an unhurried and unselfconscious possession of something very valuable.

This attitude resurfaces in Barrie's farcical one-act *Shakespeare's Legacy*, debuted at a 1916 Drury Lane matinée benefitting the YWCA. The play opens on a newly married couple, Mr Bantry, an Englishman, and 'his little Scotch lassie'. She reveals, in casual conversation, that Shakespeare was, contrary to popular belief, 'a Glen Drumly man', William Hardstaff, who changed his name 'when he went to London to try his fortune', knowing that the English would be incapable of pronouncing the aspirated 'H' (14). She goes on to explain her many proofs: that 'it was very Scotch to retire from such a calling as soon as he had made a competency'; that sending

one's *first* best bed back home is 'a Scotch custom'; and most importantly, that she 'often played with the manuscripts when [she] was a child' (15). The play as a whole is fuelled by farcical, almost absurdist, irreverence, but this image of the young lassie filling the idle hours of her rural childhood mucking about with literary treasures characterises Barrie's mischievously nonchalant treatment of Shakespeare as both juvenile and distinctly Scottish. Throughout the conversation the English husband is alternately defensive – '[p]ardon me, dear. Shakespeare wasn't Scotch. Everything else we give you, but—dash it all!' – and breathless with the impossibility of her revelations. She, meanwhile, is noted as thinking it '*all a light matter*',[27] juxtaposing Scottish nonchalance with uptight English concern.

Like 'The Literary Club' and the characterisation of the Dumfries Theatre Royal quoted above, these works demonstrate a casual appropriation of the quintessentially English Shakespeare into undeniably Scottish and comically populist contexts. Barrie pays respects without being subservient, acknowledges influence while using it to forge wholly fresh material, and takes Shakespeare as a starting point for his own fanciful creations. This approach to his idolised predecessor – fond irreverence, dependence and differentiation, emulation and experimentation – is the essence of childhood, and it is Barrie's access to this way of seeing, via Shakespeare, that makes his work such a distinctive contribution to the evolution of children's literature.

Max Beerbohm wrote that besides being 'that rare creature, a man of genius' Barrie was 'something even more rare – a child who, by some divine grace, expresses through an artistic medium the childishness that is in him'. Drawing a parallel between dreams and childish fancies, Beerbohm then turns to Shakespeare, writing that he 'realized a dream for us; but the logic in him prevented him from indulging in that wildness and incoherence which are typical of all but the finest dreams. Credible and orderly are the doings of Puck in comparison with the doings of Peter Pan'.[28] This is one of many contemporary assessments which praise Barrie's ability to see worlds, albeit strangely, through children's eyes. But it is also a clear articulation of the ways that Barrie is both connected to Shakespeare, and distanced from his controlled English creativity by a wildness associated

with childhood. It is exactly this relationship that Barrie depends upon as he incorporates Shakespearean elements into *Peter Pan*. Anchoring his work in a canonical powerhouse with a penchant for imagination and an interest in children and childhood gave Barrie a solid foundation upon which to build his worlds, his reputation and his literature. His specific uses of Shakespeare further helped to define that literature as juvenile and ultimately as Scottish.

The structural, thematic, and textual echoes of Shakespeare in the various Peter Pan narratives are even more significant than the kinship of their constructions of childhood. Barrie's associations with *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, *As You Like It*, and *Macbeth* (to name a few) are all tied up – both in their source material and in the play and novel – with issues of childhood, and complications of adult–child relations. Because of the looming prominence of Shakespeare as a paternalised national icon, Barrie's choice to invoke him as fuel for the juvenile fancies of his fairy story is itself an important act of creative autonomy which distinguishes his work as something other than English. Like his own and Shakespeare's child characters, and like children in the real world, he carefully observes and astutely mimics his parental model but brings to that imitation completely original elements that claim the antecedent works for the realms of childhood and imagination. When Cairns Craig writes disparagingly that Barrie's Kailyard 'imagines Scotland as a place exiled to the imagination',[29] he does not recognise the empowering capabilities of the imagination in the control of children.

In many ways – in terms of potential tragedies, supernatural occurrences, lost youth and lost children, and ultimate reunion, to name a few – *Peter Pan* conforms to traditional delineations of Shakespearean romance. This traditional structure gives Barrie immediate access to its associations and offers the opportunity to reinterpret them for his own purpose – namely, to re-narrate the story of childhood for a twentieth-century audience with children themselves as a primary demographic. *Peter Pan's* circular structure[30] – moving from the domestic to the fantastic and back again – is an echo of the play's primary concerns; the importance of childhood and extremities of age in the romances reinforces the dichotomy by dividing the spheres of

action along the lines of adulthood. The contrast of the courtly or civilised arena with pastoral or wild settings is a more specific feature of this structure, and the fleeing of civilisation for untamed spaces is often an escape from parental oppression.[31] In the case of Peter Pan, civilisation is focused in the nursery in Bloomsbury, the site of ordered government for all British children, ruled over in the Darlings' case by none other than George and Mary (king and queen at the time of the novel's publication). Never Land becomes the untamed, inspiring counterpart to that claustrophobically nationalised space.

When Peter Pan flew onto the scene, Scotland was already present in the English consciousness as a space of wildness, of an almost uncanny sense of same-but-otherness, and of liminality. Situated as an island located 'second to the right and straight on til morning', where children are 'forever beaching their coracles',[32] the Never Land might easily be seen as what Cairns Craig calls a 'quasi-Scottish otherworld',[33] particularly when juxtaposed with the rigid Englishness of the Darlings' nursery. This is not, of course, to say that there is a simple equation by which the Never Land might be revealed as having been Scotland all along. But is it worth noting that in what would become his masterwork, Barrie establishes an iconic space of creative freedom distinctly distant from England, in a story that represents everyday London family life as patronisingly satirical at best and possibly even 'grotesquely unpleasant'.[34] The Never Land, by contrast, is immediately familiar to the children as they approach, and they hail it 'not as something long dreamt of and seen at last, but as a familiar friend to whom they were returning home for the holidays' (105). Like Barrie's childhood adventures to the theatre in Dumfries, and the ranging spaces where the spirit of Peter Pan evolved, the Never Land is at first view a simple, natural space where children are free to enjoy the pleasures (and perils) of the imagination.

This nursery-to-Never Land dynamic establishes an undeniable equivalence between England and adulthood – both well-meaning, but oppressive, forces against which imagination must fight to define itself through subversion and escape. Barrie's use of Shakespeare's familiar structures to create this parallel is at once an act of Englishness and a resistance against English cultural hegemony. England has consistently been cast as parent with its

colonial holdings supporting the star turn in the role of beloved/beholden/maligned offspring. By subtly but persistently calling upon Shakespeare, Barrie is able to reclaim Scotland's historical role as unruly child – a position which reasserts itself in the famously impudent figure of Peter himself. His celebrated refusal to grow up is not simply a glorification of the period that is childhood; it is even more importantly an assertion of independence and imaginative self-government – a spirit of rebellious youth that has defined Scotland throughout its modern history.

Paired with the kinship to *the Tempest*, this parental dynamic provides a valuable framework for considering the story's central relationship as definitive of Barrie's contributions to Scottish children's literature. Just as Caliban and Prospero are dependent upon one another for finer points of characterisation ('this thing of darkness I acknowledge mine'), and just as the Never Land needs the specific realities of London and the Darling nursery to function as it does, Peter would not be what he is without his arch-enemy, the 'cadaverous and blackavised' Captain Hook.[35] In Hook, we see the culmination of the defining tensions of Barrie's writing, as well as his most Shakespearean figure. The stage directions conjure up Hamlet in the inability to 'give the quietus', and Lear, when at the sight of a seemingly invincible Peter, 'the great heart of Hook breaks' at last.[36] Onstage, lines like '[a]ll mortals envy me, yet better perhaps for Hook to have had less ambition'[37] remind us of the more villainous Macbeth. This line is part of the soliloquy, which is both genuinely mournful – consider the aching loveliness of the opening line: 'How still the night is; nothing sounds alive' – and melodramatically ridiculous. Twice throughout, Hook is interrupted by the tearing of fabric from Smee's nearby sewing, and thinks that he has split his trousers. While Barrie refuses to sacrifice linguistic complexity for children, he nonetheless demonstrates in moments like this a keen awareness of what will entertain them. Besides appealing to children, though, this speech also stands at the end of a long tradition of burlesques, which used parody to situate Shakespeare 'both as a cultural force and a cultural menace'[38] and 'drew upon Shakespeare's cultural capital to realise theatrically a range of political possibilities'.[39] Here, the burlesque is not only of Shakespeare, but of adulthood as well.

Displaying at once ridiculous pomposity, serious menace, and artful philosophising in a combination of tragic and comic elements, the Captain conjures up familiar characters like Brutus, Hamlet and Macbeth, simultaneously honouring and parodying their tradition. He walks alone 'in the quietude of the night', deep in thought, 'profoundly dejected' and shares with the audience his innermost thoughts, troubled by a 'presentiment of his early dissolution'. Narrative interjections like these and '[o] man unfathomable'[40] situate the pirate at the crux of legitimate tragedy and heightened melodrama. They are also examples of what Hollindale identifies as the 'refusal to make stylistic concessions to a child readership'[41] – evidence of Barrie's high estimation of children's capabilities, and their ability to maintain imaginative continuity even in the face of unfamiliar or apparently adult language by incorporating those uncertainties into the fabric of their creative play.

It is this same imaginative parity that defines the relationship between the Captain and his eternally youthful nemesis. Where Hook may seem like a straightforward caricature of robust villainy, he is in fact a curious combination of imminently adult in his evocation of Mr Darling and his general sense of tyrannical patriarchal authority, and delightfully childlike in his unwavering commitment to engaging with Peter within the imaginative framework of the Never Land. He is at once Peter's great enemy and his most steadfast accomplice in his ongoing quest for ceaseless imaginative play – another Betwixt-and-Between.[42] Together (with Shakespeare lending a hand), the two create a closed system of creative power that re-examines traditional dynamics between parent and child, imagination and reality, and author and reader. The Shakespearean connection reinforces the suggested parallel to the complicated interdependency of England, in its role of parent/tyrant and Scotland as clever, audacious child.

Hook's final onstage lines include two direct allusions: 'Back, you pewling spawn!' he shouts at his child prisoners: 'I'll show you now the road to dusty death!'.[43] '[P]ewling' here recollects the description of the infant 'mewling and puking in its nurse's arms' – the first of the Seven Ages of Man in *As You Like It*'s famous 'All the world's a stage' passage – while 'the road to dusty death' is, of course, a paraphrase of lines from Macbeth's 'tomorrow'

soliloquy. In the midst of the heroic climax of a child's adventure story, Barrie plants explicit links to two of Shakespeare's most famous philosophical expressions of nostalgia, despair and the hopelessness of death and of daily life, 'to the last syllable of recorded time'.[44] Both are also instances of the *theatrum mundi* motif, in which the duration of a life is man's 'hour upon the stage'. That the soliloquy goes on to identify life as a 'brief candle' and 'but a walking shadow' is especially resonant in a play which begins with a boy (who is 'always the same age' and 'still has all his baby teeth') entering a nursery to reclaim his severed shadow – 'a flimsy thing, which is not more material than a puff of smoke'.[45] Hook thus concentrates the play's Shakespearean sensibilities into one villainous, impassioned, yet totally impotent threat, and infuses the moment of his defeat with the weight not only of Shakespearean authority, but of 'all our yesterdays'.

In context, these lines invoke Shakespearean gravitas to delineate a literature which depends upon unresolved tensions between the violence of adult reality – death's stark mechanisms exposed for what they are – and the state of childhood, eternal but inevitably finite. Hook speaks from his distinctly adult position, giving the credibility of experience (and of canonical support) to his perspective; but these lines are nonetheless his death throes, and he drags the immortal Shakespeare down with him to the depths of the crocodile's gullet – once again burying the bard, but in a spectacular death worthy of one of his great anti-heroes. At the moment of his demise, Hook becomes the quintessential Englishman, represented by two distinguished national symbols – Shakespeare and Eton. Reflecting on his suddenly all-too-finite life, his mind lingers on his school days, the signature 'distinguished slouch', the 'passion for good form', and other essential facets of life at Eton. In the stage play, his dying words are 'Floreat Etona';[46] in the novel, 'Bad form'.[47] Hook sinks, taking Shakespeare and English boyhood with him. Peter – a thing of darkness all his own, the product of a Scottish childhood, and a perennially enduring icon of imaginative independence – rises, sailing into the new century as an unforgettable representative of Barrie's empowered notion of the child as 'gay, innocent, heartless' – and imaginatively in control.

Notes

1 Maureen A. Farrell, 'The Lost Boys and Girls of Scottish Children's Fiction', in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, 3 vols, ed. Ian Brown *et al*., vol 3, *Modern Transformations: New Identities (from 1918)*, pp. 198–206 (p. 198).

2 J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan*, in *Peter Pan and Other Plays*, ed. Peter Hollindale (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 73–154 (I.i.444–6).

3 Ibid., pp. 15–17.

4 Karen McGavock recognises the 'constant flux' of both character and narrative as representing fear of fixity and stagnation and allowing Peter to remain 'a vivifying force' (196) in 'The Riddle of His Being: An Exploration of Peter Pan's Perpetually Altering State' in *J. M. Barrie's Peter Pan in and Out of Time: A Children's Classic at 100*. ed. Donna R. White and C. Anita Tarr (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

5 See Gary Taylor's *Reinventing Shakespeare* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989) and *Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Gail Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) for more on the development of Shakespeare's reputation in the nineteenth century, and *Shakespeare and Childhood*, ed. Kate Chedgzoy, Susanne Greenhalgh and Robert Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Georgianna Ziegler's essay 'Introducing Shakespeare: The Earliest Versions for Children', in *Shakespeare,* 2.2 (2006): 132–51, and Noel Perrin's *Dr. Bowdler's Legacy: A History of Expurgated Books in England and America* (New York: Atheneum, 1969) for more on children's Shakespeares in the period. The Lambs' *Tales from Shakespeare* and the Bowdlers' *Family Shakespeare* are the most well-known adaptations and a good starting point for exploring this subject.

6 Carlyle's effusive assessment in 1841 is a testament to the century's bardolatrous tendencies and their nationalistic and patriarchal bent: 'Here, I say, is an English King, whom no time or chance, Parliament or combination of Parliaments, can dethrone! This King Shakspeare, does not he shine, in crowned sovereignty, over us all, as the noblest, gentlest, yet strongest of rallying-signs; indestructible; really more valuable in that point of view than any other means or appliance whatsoever? We can fancy him as radiant aloft over all the Nations of Englishmen, a thousand years hence. From Paramatta, from New York, wheresoever, under what sort of Parish-Constable soever, English men and women are, they will say to one another: "Yes, this Shakspeare is ours; we produced him, we speak and think by him; we are of one blood and kind with him."' (*Heroes and Hero Worship*, London: Bobbon and Sons, 1840), p. 133.

7 Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare*, p. 210.

8 Morriss Henry Partee, *Childhood in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 11.

9 Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, pp. 219, 98.

10 The Victorian social phenomenon of the Cult of the Child and the essay by Ernest Dowson (*Letters of Ernest Dowson* ed. Desmond Flower and Henry Maas [London: Corsel and Co. Ltd., 1967]) which shares its name are important documentations of the development of conceptions of childhood over the course of the nineteenth century. Oft-referenced but explored with surprising infrequency and lack of detail, this largely and characteristically Victorian valorisation of the innocence and imagination of children, depends upon a 'complete polarization of adult from child' (Malcolm Andrews,

Dickens and the Grown Up Child [Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1994], p. 22), which renders the child 'exotic and heartbreakingly attractive' (James R. Kincaid, *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* [New York: Routledge,1992], p. 30). Dowson's essay, while certainly idealising and full of Romantic effusions about a child's 'natural artlessness', is also characterised by awe and ambivalence.

11 Marah Gubar, *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 5.

12 Karen McGavock, 'Cult or Cull?: Peter Pan and Childhood in the Edwardian Age', in *Childhood in Edwardian Fiction*, ed. Adrienne E Gavin and Andrew F. Humphries (Basingtoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 37–52 (p. 37).

13 Ibid.

14 Marjorie Garber deems Shakespeare's children 'not, by and large, successful dramatic characters' in *Coming of Age in Shakespeare* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 30. For further dismissals and sentimentalisations, see Catherine Belsey 'Little Princes: Shakespeare's Royal Children' in Chedgzoy *et al* (eds), pp. 32–48; Robert Pattison, *The Child Figure in English Literature* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978, p. 273); and A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1904.)

15 R. D. S. Jack offers an insightful introduction to Barrie's indebtedness to his 'dramatic idol', as well as detailed explorations of the play's Shakespearean allusions and tendencies in the context of presenting it as a kind of creation myth. (Jack, *The Road to Never Land*, Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991).

16 Peter Hollindale, in Barrie, *Peter Pan,* p. xxi.

17 Barrie, *Peter Pan*, p. 76.

18 Hollindale in Barrie, *Peter* Pan, p. xviii.

19 Lisa Chaney, *Hide-and-Seek with Angels: A Life of J. M. Barrie* (London: Hutchinson, 2005), p. 49, 50.

20 At the time of publication, 'Moat Brae – the Birthplace of Peter Pan' will open its doors in June 2019 as a National Centre for Children's Literature and Storytelling. See peterpanmoatbrae.org for further information.

21 Chaney, p. 34.

22 Quoted in Chaney, ibid.

23 J. M. Barrie, *Auld Lycht Idylls* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902), pp. 214.

24 Ibid, 217.

25 Ibid, 232.

26 Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 61.

27 J. M. Barrie. *Shakespeare's Legacy* (London: private print, 1916), p. 14, 16.

28 Quoted in Chaney, p. 234.

29 Craig, p. 61.

30 This structural mirroring is noted by Jack in the context of considering the separation of the worlds of realism and fairy tale in Barrie's drama.

31 As in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, and *the Winter's Tale*, among others.

32 Barrie, *Peter & Wendy*, p. 74.

33 Craig, p. 31.

34 Stephanie Barbe Hammer, 'Nasty Boys, Feminine Longing, and Mourning the Mother in J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* and Anne Rice's *The Witching Hour*', in *Nursery Realms: Children in the Worlds of Science Fiction*, ed. Gary Westfahl and George Slusser (University of Georgia Press, 1999), pp. 171–84.
35 Barrie, *Peter Pan,* 2.1.76–7.
36 Barrie, *Peter Pan*, 5.1.194, 219–20.
37 Ibid., 5.141–42.
38 Elin Diamond, 'Stoppard's *Dogg's Hamlet, Cahoot's Macbeth*: The Uses of Shakespeare', *Modern Drama,* 29 (1986): 593–600.
39 Richard Schoch, *Not Shakespeare: Bardolatry and Burlesque in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 29.
40 Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, pp. 187–89.
41 Peter Hollindale, Notes, in *Peter Pan and Other Plays* by J. M. Barrie. p. 238, n. 189.
42 Kirsten Stirling traces the origins of Peter Pan back to pantomime (and other sources – though not Shakespeare) in her illuminating monograph. She observes that 'Hook's villainy exists in order to reflect on the nature of Peter Pan himself' and sees in their mirroring a shared assumption of the traditional pantomime villain role. 'The qualification of Hook as "not wholly unheroic"', she writes, 'calls into question the roles that both he and Peter are playing. If Hook is not wholly unheroic, perhaps Peter is not wholly unvillainous' (*Peter Pan's Shadows in the Literary Imagination* [New York: Routledge, 2011], pp. 41–42).
43 Barrie, *Peter Pan*, 5.1.206–7.
44 William Shakespeare, *Macbeth: Authoritative Text, Sources, and Contexts Criticism*, ed. Robert S. Miola, A Norton Critical Edition (New York: Norton, 2013), V.5.20–25.
45 Barrie, *Peter & Wendy*, p. 12; *Peter Pan*, 3.148, 1.1.178.
46 Barrie, *Peter Pan*, 5.1.208.
47 Barrie, *Peter & Wendy*, p. 201.

IV. MORAL AND SPIRITUAL FICTIONS

15. Two Telling Tales: Didacticism as a Means of Feminine Empowerment in Catherine Sinclair's *Holiday House* and Dinah Mulock Craik's *Alice Learmont*

LINDA CLARIDGE MIDDUP

> Mingled and strange were all her religious forms; but there was one thing that could not err, the intensity of devotion in her heart.[1]

The subtitle of Dinah Mulock Craik's *Alice Learmont* (1851) is *A Mother's Love*. It is Marion Learmont's love, coupled with an 'intensity of devotion in her heart', that overcomes a terrifying and hellish onslaught by a swarm of angry fairies against her and daughter Alice. This mixture of sense and nonsense, of didacticism and fantasy has, at its heart, the domestic realm of home and hearth. Similarly, in Catherine Sinclair's *Holiday House*: *A Book for the Young* (1839), despite the inclusion of 'Uncle David's nonsensical story', the narrative is firmly situated in the domestic sphere. Yet, as Marah Gubar argues, 'the popular genre of the family story still tends to get left out when commentators commend the accomplishments of children's authors from this era', and she cites *Holiday House* as being among that number.[2] What is also overlooked is the part that fantasy and didacticism play in the promotion of positive images of femininity as a counterpoint to patriarchal opposition. As seen in Craik's protagonist, Marion, there is an intensity of devotion in the heart of many influential Victorian women writers to transform the limited, and all too limiting, aspects of patriarchal and societal expectation into something far more dynamic. In embracing Christ-like qualities and rejecting culturally-acquired ones, femininity can be refined, or purified, and so become an indicator of a woman's true worth as a human being rather than embodying her use-value.

With this in mind, this chapter explores how *Holiday House* and *Alice Learmont* actively focus on similar Christian and moral values, seeing them as the antidote to cultural 'temptation' – the love of self, love of fine living,

love of praise and flattery and so on – in presenting a strongly religious view of the 'truly feminine' woman as the disciple of Christ. Although appearing to have little in common (Sinclair writes about a middle- to upper-class family who live a life of ease and comfort and Craik writes about a poor Lowland family), both texts have strong female characters at the centre of their narratives – characters who possess the kind of beauty built on what Sinclair calls the 'solid foundation' of faith and 'sound morality'.[3] Strength (of mind and of body) and beauty (of character and of form) are concepts which were seldom, if ever in Victorian literature, used in conjunction with each other when describing femininity; these narratives go some way to redressing the balance.

That each narrative is set partly in a fairyland or fantasyland is also important because it permits the investigation of new and possibly subversive ways of thinking about femininity without censure. Not only that but the otherworldly nature of fairyland enables them to explore what Nina Auerbach and U. C. Knoepflmacher call the 'broken visions of a forbidden completion' inherent in much Victorian women's writing: although 'female energies are released, they remain elliptical, subversive, open-ended. They convey not so much triumph as rage against the constraints that distort them'.[4]

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Both Sinclair (1800–64) and Craik (1826–87) were leading nineteenth-century writers who utilised the appeal of fairy tales to enhance their own religious and moral teaching, and who thus wrote stories for children and young people which managed to be both popular and educational. Sinclair produced novels and travel books as well as several children's books, and is particularly remembered for *Holiday House*, her domestic story about the well-to-do Graham family set in Edinburgh around 1815. This is one of the few texts by a Scottish writer from the first half of the nineteenth century to be included in mainstream histories of children's literature, and Maureen Farrell has argued for the importance of 'the novel's Scottish setting and context and its place within the Scottish literary tradition'.[5] Within this story Sinclair incorporates a curiously didactic

fairy tale which serves to break the tension that is slowly building in the narrative but which delivers an unexpectedly strong moral and Christian lesson to her young readers.[6]

Critics are divided as to the appeal of Sinclair's writing. Percy Muir, for example, likes her way of writing children's literature, finding her approach to be a breath of fresh air, especially when compared to the staunchly Calvinistic, but also incredibly popular, Mary Martha Sherwood, for instance, and Peter Hunt is inclined to agree. Hunt writes that 'for much of the time *Holiday House* reads more like Nesbit than Sherwood'.[7] However, Gillian Avery disagrees, suggesting that Laura and her brothers are far from 'life-like children', arguing that they are little more than an authorial device which uses them as 'machines for naughtiness' in much the same way that the late Georgian child was used as a 'machine for wickedness'.[8] Maureen Farrell observes that they 'are intent on testing the boundaries given them and are committed to finding out why things are allowed or forbidden. Notwithstanding, the children are truthful, never greedy or cruel and are unfailingly considerate of one another, if nobody else'.[9] Yet fictional girls like Laura – whether a deliberate device or not – also had an important role to play in reflecting back to girl readers the idea that spiritual and intellectual growth was an important aspect of their formative development.[10] When such ideas are presented, not only in disguise as subversive fairy beings from some fantastic realm, but also as characters who are not unlike the readers themselves perhaps, then the educational impact is more direct and empowering. *Holiday House* has been considered as the first 'domestic' novel, starting a trend in Victorian children's literature in which didacticism and fantasy would no longer be seen as mutually exclusive styles of writing.[11]

Mulock Craik was also a prolific writer of children's stories, her best-known being *The Little Lychetts* (1855) and *The Little Lame Prince and his Travelling Cloak* (1875). However, it is her lesser-known didactic fairy tale *Alice Learmont* (1851) which will be explored in this chapter, not least because it is a subtle, and unusual re-working of two traditional supernatural ballads from the Lowlands – *Tam Lin* (Child 39) and *Thomas the Rhymer* (Child 37).[12] In Craik's hands these two ballads merge to become a powerful Christian homily which warns of the inherent spiritual danger hidden

in a solipsistic lifestyle, and serves as a eulogy to the transformative quality of redemption.

In both writers' work, there is also a noticeable engagement with ideas that influence contemporary moral or social concerns about the construction of femininity. As might be expected, Sinclair and Craik produce two very different stories, but a common proto-feminist thread links them together: didacticism offers their young and impressionable readers a working alternative to what Mary Wollstonecraft denounces in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) as a 'false system of female manners […] which robs the whole sex of its dignity.'[13] The *Vindication* is, of course, Wollstonecraft's feminist polemic on the rights of women to be seen as valued human beings, free of patriarchal expectations which limited them to a life of subservience and dependence because of their gender. In it she differentiates between two types of femininity – that which panders to notions of physical beauty ('Women are told from their infancy [that] they should be beautiful, [that] everything else is needless'), and that which cultivates the mind and spirit ('Strengthen the female mind by enlarging it, and there will be an end to blind obedience').[14] Wollstonecraft's influence can be detected in both feminist and non-feminist texts alike throughout the nineteenth century, and Sinclair and Craik adopt and adapt many of her ideas in their own narratives; as noted by Elaine Showalter, Craik excels at a 'peculiar combination of didacticism and subversive feminism'.[15]

In presenting their own young female protagonists as beautiful, moral and virtuous (in every sense) but also as strong-minded and determined, Sinclair and Craik help to enlarge the concept of femininity to include hitherto 'masculine' traits. The women and girls who feature in these two narratives are feminine in the accepted, cultural sense of the word because they do not flout convention, but they are far from being weak-minded or dependent. It is this subtle shift in meaning – a refinement in the way they are presented to the reader – which suggests that both authors felt that femininity need not be demeaning, but empowering. For instance, Sinclair propounds the Schillerian philosophy that if 'Art' and 'Nature' work in tandem then 'some lovely blossoms […] might […] be cherished into strength and beauty', especially when they are reared, 'on the solid

foundation of Christian faith and sound morality' (p. xiii). Sinclair's 'lovely blossoms' suggest the image of young women fashioned by Nature – but educated by Art.[16] This analogy emphasises a belief in the important role that Art, in the form of literature and education, plays in the 'formation of character and principles'. This in turn then creates what she calls a 'beautiful superstructure' which will eventually allow the 'lovely blossoms' to 'far exceed […] what can be planted or reared by Art' What she is also saying here is that Nature (and nurture), when it is supported by Art in promoting the tenets of 'Christian faith and sound morality', will become the bedrock on which an empowered femininity might be successfully founded.

The symbolic femininities of *Holiday House*

Sinclair's *Holiday House* is a family saga that follows the daily lives of a grandmother – Lady Harriet Graham, three lively children, a Major Graham (or 'Uncle David'), and an 'old-fashioned' nurse, Mrs Crabtree (p. 3). The Grahams live in a town house in Scotland and the holiday house of the title refers to a place the children occasionally visit for a country break with their grandmother. The children's mother has died young, and their broken-hearted father has fled abroad leaving his children in the care of their grandmother, uncle and nurse. Sinclair uses these two women as opposing role models for the young and impressionable Laura whose development from girl to young woman the narrative traces. In opposition to the rather more enlightened model of femininity presented by the grandmother (who is a wealthy, educated woman able to think for herself), there is the flawed model of the old nurse, whose 'old-fashioned' system for turning Laura into a young lady of questionable worth (what Wollstonecraft had called those 'false notions of modesty' too often visited on women)[17] is revealed as a tragi-comic failure.

It is not until 'Uncle David's Wonderful Story' appears halfway through the narrative that the religious element of *Holiday House* becomes more noticeable. This may be a fairy story in the traditional sense with giants and fairies and lost children but it is also a didactic tale which finishes with a religious moral. Sinclair's two fairies illustrate different kinds of femininity: one represents the idleness and folly of women who '"lead the most

fashionable life imaginable, for nobody speaks to anybody!"' whilst the opposite, 'simply dressed […] with bunches of natural flowers in her […] hair, [carrying] in her hand a few neat small books' represents education and industry (pp. 124–26). This fairy announces that '"all our amusements tend to some useful object, either for our own improvement or the good of others, and you will grow wiser, better, and happier every day you remain in the palace of Knowledge"' (p. 125). This Bluestocking fairy is held up as an intellectual ideal, of course, but the emphatic difference between these two types of femininity leave the reader in no doubt as to which is the most empowering. To reinforce this moral Sinclair includes a parable about not wasting precious time on idle and pointless pursuits such as youth and beauty.

Barbara Willard qualifies Sinclair's religious homilies by arguing that the 'sermonizing that goes on […] is the inevitable background of the times in which it was written. It may seem immoderately solemn but can turn out often enough to be entirely sensible', and she labels *Holiday House* as 'dashingly different' from what had gone before.[18] Certainly, Sinclair has created a lively narrative that sweeps the reader along and, rather like the innovative Irish writer Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849), she departs from convention by allowing her fictional children to take centre stage and work things out for themselves. Yet, just when the narrative seems set fair for yet more engaging anecdotes, all this stops after 'Uncle David' has told his story about fairies and giants. What follows is more sombre and startling, charting as it does the early death of the eldest of the Graham children and the fallout from this unforeseen event.

However, Peter Hunt suggests that Sinclair's narrative 'looks suspiciously like a series of parodies of earlier moralising' tales and, in a sense, it is.[19] By using *Holiday House* as the title of her narrative for instance – although the place itself hardly features – Sinclair seems knowingly to parody the concept of a 'Holy' day House. For children in earlier didactic narratives, such as Mary Martha Sherwood's renowned (if not infamous) trilogy, *The History of the Fairchild Family* (1818, 1842 and 1847), for example, or Anna Laetitia Barbauld's *Hymns in Prose for Children* (1781) and *Evenings At Home* (1792–96), every day was, in effect, a holy day. Yet Sinclair's own 'holi-day'

house is a subversion of that because it is a place of fun and adventure, although religious instruction is still very much in evidence. It is a sanctuary from everyday lessons and the regular physical punishment meted out by the old-fashioned Mrs Crabtree. Further, in remarking in her Preface that 'religion is the best resource in happier hours, and the only refuge in hours of affliction' (p. xv), Sinclair appears to be endorsing Sherwood's firebrand didacticism, although she tempers her own with more levity.[20]

Yet another interesting link with Sherwood's narrative appears to be the era which Sinclair chose for her story. Although it was published in 1839, *Holiday House* is set closer to 1818 when the first part of *The Fairchild Family* was published. In the chapter 'The Illuminations', for instance, the children and their uncle take part in the public celebrations of Wellington's 'great victory' at Waterloo in 1815 (p. 141). One more seemingly parodic incident in the narrative is the fire that burns down the children's nursery. In Sherwood's own fire story an imperious young lady who lives only to be admired by others perishes in a nursery fire but in Sinclair's similar scenario Laura Graham saves the day, although the nursery itself (a place of repressive punishments and enforced ladylike behaviour meted out by Mrs Crabtree) is spectacularly destroyed. With Sinclair, then, it is repressive places that are destroyed, not 'sinful' people. Like Sherwood she deplores vain and pompous femininity but it is the representation of these false values (the nursery) which is destroyed rather than the unwitting female victim of them.

Mrs Crabtree's 'system' is shown to espouse the kind of femininity that stifles Laura's intellectual and spiritual growth. What the governess actually passes on is 'old-fashioned' repression rather than enlightenment. She does not give Laura the chance to become an individual, always forcing her to conform to a feminine stereotype that, instead of showing the girl to her best advantage, forces her to display a femininity that demeans and limits her. Jacqueline M. Labbe notes that Mrs Crabtree's 'method' of correction is, in the end, 'curiously ineffectual' and suggests it has been 'included more, it seems, for show' than anything else – but to show, perhaps, Laura's total failure to thrive in mind, body or spirit under its influence.[21] Were it not for the example set by her grandmother Laura would have remained little more

than a 'merry, thoughtless young creature' all her life (p. 239) instead of which she is shown as becoming a responsible young woman who spurns the shallow satisfaction gained from the 'false notions of modesty' favoured by the misguided nurse, to embrace a much more thoughtful and spiritual femininity.[22] The nurse's abject failure to 'tame' Laura and force her to conform is because her 'system' is based solely on the shifting sands of cultural ideology rather than on the 'solid foundation of Christian faith and sound morality' as espoused by Sinclair who makes the point that whilst one merely adorns the body, the other nourishes the mind (p. xiii).

A devotion to the adornment of the body features as highly problematic in Laura's progression from child to woman. For instance, long hair – that all-too-familiar cultural marker of the ultra-feminine woman – is shown as the bane of Laura's life. The maxim 'suffering to be beautiful' takes on new meaning in Laura's daily and nightly battles with her hair and clothes. Her long hair restricts her both physically and mentally, forcing her to spend too much of her precious time on its upkeep: '"I wish I were bald […]. During the night I cannot lie still on account of those tiresome curls, and all day I dare not stir for fear of spoiling them; so they are never out of my head"' (pp. 8–9) is her constant lament. Eventually however, Laura rebels and cuts off her tiresome hair, thus ending her torture but becoming a laughing stock. Although symbolically freeing herself she has been left open to public ridicule. She has overtly rebelled and must face the consequences which, the narrator implies, is not always the easiest way forward for a girl in a patriarchal society.

Similarly, the clothes she has to wear demand too much of her attention: 'Laura wished pink gingham frocks had never been invented, and wondered why nothing stronger could be made' (p. 70). The dress is symbolic of a femininity which requires constant care and cosseting and Laura is once again a victim as it is designed, not for wear and tear, but merely for show, and to highlight the (passive) attractiveness of its wearer. The minute Laura is active, her dress becomes damaged and she is marked out as troublesome: 'Captain Digby seized hold of her pink frock behind. It instantly began tearing, so she had great hopes of leaving the piece in his hand and getting off' but her dress still impeded her break for freedom and she was led 'a

prisoner before the whole company' (p. 73). Laura is trapped by this iconic representation of femininity and, as with the hair cutting incident, she is paraded before society in all her torn and grimy glory as a sad parody of femininity. Although Laura's escapades are meant to be humorous, there is a serious message behind them: she is regarded as an unfeminine rebel due to the imposition of rigid patriarchal strictures on her, strictures which insist on her acting like a conventionally 'respectable' young lady. Sinclair's novel, then, exposes how, in Wollstonecraft's words, women 'are made to assume an artificial character […]. Taught from their infancy that beauty is woman's sceptre, the mind shapes itself to the body.'[23]

An alternative Alice? Ballad retellings and the escape from conventional femininity

The physically maturing girl was not a character often met with in male-authored Victorian children's literature but Craik (as well as Jean Ingelow, Juliana Horatia Ewing, and Christina Rossetti) all feature the girl who is fast growing up into a woman. As Auerbach and Knoepflmacher argue, both sexes were looking for a different escape route from Victorian cultural expectation. Writers like Lewis Carroll, George MacDonald, and Charles Kingsley in particular were 'longing for unreachable lives', wanting to escape back into the maternal safe haven of an 'idealized childhood', but women writers needed to move in the opposite direction.[24] They 'envied adults rather than children' and sought their escape through the adolescent child who was halfway to becoming an adult.[25]

The adult self in Victorian society was, as Chris R. Vanden Bosshe notes, someone who displayed evidence of 'self-culture', who was 'capable of comprehending the needs of others as well as harmonizing the interests of others with individual desires' and this is depicted in female-authored narratives as part of the growing girl's discovery of her own sense of femininity and independence.[26] As a potential adult, the female character in didactic literature is shown developing her own 'autonomous moral self' as part of her struggle to grow up and grow away from the infantile state that keeps her dependent. All the girls are pre-pubescent and their authors are laying the intellectual and spiritual foundations for use in the future

when the physical transition occurs so that an empowered, autonomous adult will finally emerge. Sinclair and Craik's narratives actively engage with the problematic transitional period that takes their female characters from girls to women and, in doing so, they enable the feminine 'dream-child' of Victorian male fantasy to eventually grow up and leave the infantile state behind.

The preponderance of child-women in male-authored Victorian literature is notable. Charles Dickens, Kingsley, MacDonald, and Carroll all had girl characters they were loath to let them grow up in case – as women – they 'break the constraints that distort them'. The forever-young Alice from Carroll's *Alice* books for example, eventually becomes the spectre at the feast who would stalk late-Victorian female-authored narratives, constantly reminding women of the betrayal of growing up but, long before that, Craik challenges with the infantilisation of a young woman in *Alice Learmont* and she does this by using her Alice as a character who fights hard to break away from the clutches of child-like femininity.

The story of Alice Learmont is an amalgam of two traditional Scottish ballads. *Thomas the Rhymer* is the tale of one Thomas Learmont of Ercildoune, a thirteenth-century bard who spends seven years as a captive in fairyland, returning home gifted as a 'foreteller' or seer before disappearing forever to live with his fairy queen. The other is *Tam Lin* in which Tam (or Tom) is abducted by fairies but is allowed to return every seven years. On one visit he begs his lady, Janet, to save him from the clutches of the fairy queen on the next Hallowe'en when the fairy troop rides out. This she does, but first the two must endure a bitter spiritual and physical battle without weakening their resolve. Craik closely follows the pattern of this ballad in her narrative but she gives the traditional tale an innovative twist by making the focus of this struggle to break free from the clutches of a malign and child-like femininity not that of Thomas, but of his female descendent, Alice. As if showing the provenance of her tale, Craik has used Scots language throughout, perhaps in homage to the original ballads – a mark of supposed authenticity perhaps. It may also reflect the revival of the Romantic cultural nationalism to which Sir Walter Scott had contributed, particularly the Highland culture with its dynamic and highly 'romantic

past'. A review of *Alice Learmont* which appeared in *The Athenaeum Journal* in 1852, however, did not think that Craik's re-working of the two ballads was a pertinent story for a modern world, commenting that '[t]he world has out-lived the spells of Elf-land […]. The fairies can have no life within sound of the steam whistle and near the path of the iron horse […]' but does concede at least that Craik's fairy tale nonetheless is a 'book full of beauty' – although her constant use of dialect grated somewhat upon the reviewer's nerves![27]

Sally Mitchell suggests that Craik's fairy story is similar to the kind produced by Hans Christian Andersen, where folklore is blended with fairy tale to produce a 'new' narrative out of the old oral tradition.[28] In her version Craik has moved the focus away from adult male to growing girl, away from man and woman to mother and daughter.[29] The words spoken, and the language used do not describe the strength and power of men but of women and girls and here, Craik is aligning herself with the ancient notion of women as the 'tellers and foretellers' rather than men, something which, as Lawrence Talairach-Vielmas points out, 'abounds all through the Victorian era'.[30] In reworking the old tales of Tam and Thomas into a new tale about Alice, Craik marks a change of emphasis. Whereas in the ballad of *Tam Lin* it is a woman saving a man, in *Alice Learmont* it is one woman saving another. This turns it into a powerful narrative about feminine co-operation and, ultimately, spiritual empowerment. Mitchell acknowledges that, whilst Craik's narrative story is original, she borrows heavily from the popular lore of the Border country and the Scottish Lowlands and in so doing she makes her fairy folk very similar to those 'subterranean inhabitants' recorded by the Reverend Robert Kirk. He suggests that '[t]hese subterraneans have controversies [and] feuds, and sin […] as to their stealing of nurses to their children and that other sort of plaginism [kidnapping] in catching our children away […] which never return'.[31] However, Mitchell suggests that Craik's narrative does more than tell a tale for it dredges up to the surface 'some of the psychological implications of fairy lore' and argues that it deserves to be 'better remembered than it has been'.[32]

Craik's Alice is kidnapped by fairies just after she is born and she is forced to live in their child-like domain, returning home every seven years. As she

grows up she learns that the child-like fairy world is not as enchanting as it seems and she fights to escape from it, helped by her mother Marion who finally sets her daughter free from its malign influence. Craik's folk-fairy tale promotes the idea that spiritual awareness is crucial to the development or 'freeing' of a maturing girl's femininity, and she uses the solipsistic fairy world, not as an escape into an enchanted netherworld but as a negative place fuelled by fears of the power of spirituality and of consequent feminine empowerment. The queen of the fairies is hedonistic, as are her 'soulless' elves (p. 41) and, carefully avoiding the Bible in Marion's birthing-room, she steals Alice away before she can be christened. As long as she remains 'soulless' in this way, Alice will be in danger of entrapment and the narrative, subtitled *A Mother's Love*, follows Marion's long struggle to rescue Alice through steadfast faith and prayers, humility and love, all of which are eventually seen to erode the insidious influence of the fairies. The power of faith, a virtuous mother's love and Christian prayer are presented, through Marion, as transformative qualities; they begin to work on Alice to bring her gradually back from her Godless existence in Fairyland, back from 'a region of perpetual, unvaried pleasure' (p. 33).

In the narrative Alice begins her transformation as soon as she realises that the enchantment of fairy dust ('glamour') has dazzled and seduced her into a life of selfishness where all she cares about is 'the sight of her glittering frock and her silver shoes' (p. 80). Given Craik's feminist leanings it is hard not to see a critique of patriarchal doctrine here which endeavours to keep girls forever young and enchanted by their own (youthful) appearance.[33] As in many didactic fairy stories the main character is given a choice about which path to take and Alice has to choose between her former life of physical pleasure and spiritual torpor with the fairies, or a new life of spiritual growth and physical hardship with her mother.

In teaching her daughter the Christian tenet of loving others before herself Marion brings Alice back from the brink of self-destruction and strengthens and empowers her with a renewed sense of self and purpose. As Mitchell notes, Alice begins this 'transformation to womanhood' at fourteen when she rescues her brother and she completes it at seventeen, 'by taking care of her [ailing] mother'.[34] Alice's newly-acquired spiritual

empowerment, therefore, enables her to turn away from the careless affectations of her 'soulless' and self-indulgent life with the fairies and helps her to embrace the more ennobling traits of an admittedly traditional, (but now empowered), femininity that is based more on Christ-like dedication to others rather than gender expectation. In her mother's humble home there is no artifice and no glamour (either in the Scots sense of 'enchantment' or in glamorous possessions) to turn Alice's head, only education in the form of love, tolerance and Christian faith which, in the end, is shown as shining a brighter light round Alice than all the fairy glamour she has so far favoured.

The invocation of love as salvation for the soul is the consistent theme running through Craik's narrative: Christ's love, familial love, a mother's love – all are shown as being more empowering than self-love. When the narrator says that Alice becomes 'the healer of discord, the soother, the refiner' (p. 123), this may sound too much like a recipe for feminine passivity and self-abnegation, but what Craik is advocating here is an empowerment of femininity through its association with recognised Christ-like qualities. Christ's strongly feminine traits as the healer, the soother, and the refiner have been appropriated by Craik as signs of Alice's spiritual rebirth and the more Alice comes to recognise the value of selfless love and to wholeheartedly return it, then the more powerful she becomes.

Alice eventually turns her back on her solipsistic, gilded childhood but the fairies, as representatives of negative femininity, will not let her go without a fight. They come for her and drag her back 'to former ways and former delights […]' (p. 127) but Marion blesses her with the name of God to protect her and on her return to Fairyland as an unwilling prisoner now she finally sees it for the sinful place it really is. In desperation she pleads with her ancestor Thomas the Rhymer (who has chosen to remain a prisoner in Fairyland), to help her escape and so he christens her to put her beyond the reach of the godless queen. 'Then he bade her open her eyes and see' (p. 144) and the spell of glamour is finally broken. The christening protects Alice from the temptation to stay in a state of ignorance and, with her new spiritual insight, she sees the truth of the falsity that surrounds her. In place of the dazzling and beautiful queen, '[t]here was a ghastly, loathly hag sitting on a throne, laughing loudly through her toothless lips, her yellow shrunken

limbs peering ugly beneath foul rags' (p. 145). Although Craik is presenting a conventional image of the state of the queen's spirituality she is also illustrating the damaging effects of negative femininity on what Sara Coleridge had referred to as the 'beauty of the soul'.[35] Even 'True Thomas' saw through the veil of glamour surrounding the fairy queen to see that, after all, 'there was nothing in her […]' of value (p. 138). Her beauty was no more than skin deep and, although he had chosen to remain trapped by these 'false notions' of beauty, Alice was now free of them.

By contrast, of course, mother Marion embodies all those qualities of femininity that are of value: she is loving, selfless, kind-hearted, and virtuous. She may only be poor and plainly dressed in the old-fashioned style of Mary Stuart but that is shown as unimportant since 'fair womanhood transcends all quaintness of costume, and Mistress Thomas Learmont was very comely to behold' (p. 5). Her beauty is that of the spirit as well as the body and, although she is a lowly-born woman compared with the fairy queen, the queen is far less noble than Marion, since she hides her true self behind the enchanted mask of glamour. Take that away and there is nothing left, whereas Marion's femininity is shown to be spiritually empowering (like her maternal namesake – the ultimate queen of Heaven – Mother Mary), and it is this strength that enables her to withstand all manner of terrors which the fairy queen sends her way. Alice is shown as being trapped between these two opposing states of femininity and she only escapes by going through a physical, spiritual and intellectual crisis that wrests her from the enchantment of feminine artifice. It is the 'intensity of devotion in [Marion's] heart' that ultimately saves Alice and allows her to be re-born in her mother's image.

The final, dramatic confrontation with the fairies is very similar to the incident described in *Tam Lin*. Mother and daughter face a spiritual crisis together where they are both pushed to the limit of their endurance as Alice is turned by a swarm of avenging fairies into a shape-shifter. She becomes variously a wild beast, a goblin, a 'slimy serpent' and a 'red-hot bar of iron' as well as other 'transformations uncouth, loathsome, or terrible, [but] Marion Learmont [kept] her treasure close embraced' (p. 162) against the violent fury unleashed against them. The final onslaught comes as Alice is

turned into 'a living flame that swayed to and fro in [Marion's] arms', but this time Marion invokes the power of God to help her in her hour of need and the fury subsides as quickly as it erupts and Alice is left 'pallid, trembling, cold, – and naked as when she had come into the world, a helpless babe' (p. 163). In effect, Alice has been born again and, stripped of all the false glamour of fairyland, she appears naked in every sense of the word, 'her unearthly beauty chastened into that which was merely human - the loveliness of love itself' (p. 166). Craik adds a subtext to this scene from *Tam Lin* to describe the effort and the strength of mind required to resist not only imprisonment in fairyland and being used as a possible tithe to pay the Devil at the Feast of Samhain, but also the insidious lure of feminine behaviour that threatens to envelop girls like Alice in demeaning and child-like behaviour for societal and patriarchal convenience. The siren song that consistently lures Alice back to fairyland can be read as the call of a femininity that seeks to keep her child-like. With its emphasis on personal pleasure and lack of responsibility its ultimate aim is always to disempower her.

Alice's final break away from captivity and her rejection of love of self for love of others involves personal sacrifice, through which she learns the value of 'true' (in a religious sense) love. Alice's character shows that empowerment is often hard-won, and Mitchell suggests that many of the stories Craik wrote actively 'educate the emotions' by promoting what she calls 'habits of feeling' which foster the moral virtue of knowing the right way to behave.[36] The moral of the tale is clearly evident throughout but, as Mitchell observes, the allegorical nature of Craik's narrative does not intrude in an obvious way and the eventual outcome 'is seriously in doubt, even for readers who perceive the message about mother-love'.[37] This idea of women teaching other women is a subtle yet dominant thread in so many didactic narratives and here, strong-minded yet unpretentious women like Marion (and the now more mature Alice) are shown supporting each other towards a greater understanding of the use-value of a virtuous, spiritually moral femininity and a greater awareness of the demeaning and damaging effects of its opposing state. Despite her initial repugnance, Alice is shown as finally preferring the example of femininity displayed by her modest mother to

that of the glamorous fairy queen and with Alice's renunciation of a carefree life lived in fairyland and her rebuttal of the kind of femininity that keeps her in thrall to a delusion, Craik subverts the idea of the woman-child forever cocooned in an imaginary wonderland not of her making.

*

The acquired mannerisms and false delicacy associated with a particular construct of nineteenth-century femininity are portrayed by both Sinclair and Craik as being inherently damaging to the spiritual growth of the individual; they offer instead the kind of femininity that is defined by modesty, compassion, and gentleness. All of these are recognisable feminine traits but, when infused and identified with spirituality as they are here, they impart a far more resonant message and negate the emphasis placed on so-called feminine traits of coquettishness, passivity, and frivolity. In these two texts, then, this thread of positivity helps to unbind femininity from its patriarchal shackles by means of a nuanced and subtle argument through which patriarchal and cultural versions of ideal femininity are replaced with a much more spiritual and enlightened vision.

In both *Holiday House* and *Alice Learmont,* Sinclair and Craik explore the possibility of a more empowered kind of femininity, not acquired through societal osmosis – that is, by passive absorption of patriarchal standards of femininity – but through an active engagement with religious and moral education that elevates the soul and the mind over the body. At the core of both these narratives of a growth towards enlightenment is the desire to associate the Christ-like characteristics of humility, modesty, virtue, and compassion with an empowered vision of femininity. In *Holiday House* Laura becomes one of Sinclair's 'lovely blossoms' nurtured by her 'gardener' grandmother. Staying within the parameters set down for girls by society she nevertheless learns, as does Alice Learmont through her mother's love, how to take charge of her femininity by rejecting the insidious power of patriarchally-imposed femininity for a more spiritually-rewarding kind, a powerful theme also gleaned from the adaptation of the traditional Scots ballad. The pitting of Good against Evil – in whatever guise is deemed necessary for the progression of the characters – is a familiar trope in didactic

stories, fairy tales and ballads, but when femininity becomes the focus of attention as it does in these two narratives then, as this chapter argues, a new and pertinent dimension is subtly added. At the close of *Holiday House* and *Alice Learmont,* both Laura and Alice, by listening carefully to the 'intensity of devotion in [their] hearts', have become so very different from the giddy girls they appeared to be at the beginning; and we leave them both in a far better place than we found them.

Notes

1 Dinah Mulock Craik, *Alice Learmont: or, A Mother's Love* (Boston: Mayhew & Baker, 1859), p. 158. All subsequent references in the body of the chapter are to this edition.

2 Marah Gubar, *Artful Dodgers: Reconceiving the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (Oxford: University Press, 2010), p. 5.

3 Catherine Sinclair, *Holiday House: A Book for the Young*, (London: Hamish Hamilton Children's Books, 1972), p. xiii. All subsequent references in the body of the chapter are to this edition.

4 Nina Auerbach and U. C. Knoepflmacher (eds), *Forbidden Journeys: Fairytales and Fantasies by Victorian Women Writers* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 8.

5 Maureen Anne Farrell, *Culture and Identity in Scottish Children's Fiction* (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2009), p. 54.

6 Catherine Sinclair was born in Edinburgh, the daughter of Sir John Sinclair. She was one of several children and devoted a large part of her time and energy to helping her father with his writing. After his death, like other dutiful daughters (Sara Coleridge for instance) she came into her own. As well as an acclaimed writer she was a well-respected philanthropist and tireless charity-worker. She belonged to the Scottish Episcopal Church and the evangelical protestantism she favoured is evident in many of her books, including *Holiday House*. See Charlotte Mitchell, 'Sinclair, Catherine (1800–64)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25612, accessed 29 May 2017].

Dinah Mulock Craik's father was also a minister, of a non-conformist chapel, and she eventually married the son of a reverend. She was an independently-minded woman who earned her own keep through her writing. Such was her standing, writes Sally Mitchell, that reviewers measured the first books by George Eliot against the standard set by Craik. Her best-known book is *John Halifax, Gentleman* (1856) although she wrote twenty novels, twelve children's books and more than one-hundred and fifty short stories and essays during her working life. In her Preface, Mitchell says of Craik that her books 'provided the woman reader with practical advice and emotional indulgence, with conventional moral standards and radical models for behaviour, and with feminine self-expression that did not violate cultural conventions' (Sally Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik* [Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983]). See also Sally Mitchell, 'Craik, Dinah Maria (1826–1887)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19519, accessed 29 May 2017].

7 *Children's Literature: An Anthology, 1801–1902*, ed. Peter Hunt (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), p. 49.
8 Gillian Avery, *Nineteenth Century Children: Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories 1780–1900* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965), p. 67.
9 Farrell, p. 55.
10 Percy Muir writes that Sinclair 'deserves more than a passing mention' as a children's author because, although she was 'in the direct line of writers of the moral tale' (for good or ill, depending on how you view their work), 'she was also something more' since into *Holiday House* – which he calls Sinclair's 'best book for children', she infuses 'a spirit of laughter and good fun which is refreshing and uncommon at the time' (Percy Muir, *English Children's Books 1600–1900* (London: BT Batsford, 1979), p. 116). Similarly, Peter Hunt writes that Sinclair's narrative indicates a welcome change of direction in children's literature away from the 'severities' of the moral tale and so deserves to be seen as a 'landmark' text. 'Fundamentally, Sinclair makes the distinction between thoughtlessness and wickedness and, with some reservations, deserves her revolutionary reputation' (p. 49).
11 *The Cambridge Guide to Women's Literature,* eds Lorna Sage, Germaine Greer and Elaine Showalter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 128.
12 On the history and evolution of these two traditional Scots ballads from their intricate medieval and folk heritage, see the work of Emily Lyle (e.g. *Fairies and Folk. Approaches to the Scottish Ballad Tradition* (Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2007). See also Maureen Farrell, 'The ballads of Tam Lin and Thomas the Rhymer: transformations and transcriptions' in *Poetry and Childhood Conference,* 20–21 April 2009, British Library, London: eprints.gla.ac.uk/49733 [accessed 29 May 2017].
13 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. Miriam Brody (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1992), p. 144.
14 Ibid., p. 100, 107.
15 Elaine Showalter, 'Dinah Mulock Craik and the Tactics of Sentiment: A Case Study in Victorian Female Authorship', *Feminist Studies* 2 (1975), 5–23 (p. 6).
16 Sinclair here seems to be following the philosophical arguments of Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805). One of his beliefs was that Art, or 'aesthetic education', would elevate the individual soul to attain beauty – a moral beauty that would then radiate out and improve society.
17 Wollstonecraft, p. 105.
18 Barbara Willard, Introduction, *Holiday House*, p.vi.
19 *Children's Literature: An Anthology 1801–1902*, ed. Peter Hunt (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001), p. 31.
20 By the time Sherwood wrote her other books about the Fairchild family (1842 and 1847) however, her hellfire religious didacticism had softened noticeably and her narratives were more light-hearted.
21 Jacqueline M. Labbe, 'Doctrine, Suffering and the Morality of Death in Didactic Children's Fiction', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (2006), 445–57 (p. 453).
22 Wollstonecraft, p. 105.
23 Ibid., p. 132.
24 Ibid., p. 1.
25 Ibid., p. 1.

26 Chris R. Vanden Bosshe, 'Moving Out: Adolescence', in *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, ed. Herbert F. Tucker (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), pp. 82–96 (p. 87–88).
27 Review of *Alice Learmont* in *The Athenaeum Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts for the Year 1852* (London: J. Francis, 1852), pp. 49–50, (p. 49).
28 Sally Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), p. 82.
29 Ibid., p. 82.
30 Lawrence Talairach-Vielmas, *Moulding the Female Body in Victorian Fairy Tales and Sensation Novels* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 23.
31 Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies* (New York: Dover Publications, 2008), p. 56.
32 Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik*, paras 14 and 18. www.victorianweb.org.
33 See Craik's polemic series of essays 'A Woman's Thoughts About Women', first printed in *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* (1857).
34 Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik*, p. 112.
35 Echoing the philosophy of Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), Coleridge wrote 'By fastening our attention too exclusively on what is external we overlook in the woman what we are in no danger of doing with regard to the flower and the landscape – the beauty of the soul': from 'On the Disadvantages Resulting from the Possession of Beauty' (1826), cited in Bradford Keyes Mudge, *Sara Coleridge: A Victorian Daughter, Her Life and Essays* (London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 199.
36 Mitchell, *Dinah Mulock Craik*, p. 80.
37 Ibid., p. 84.

16. Romance, Death and other Predicaments: Guidance for the Young in the Fiction of Mary Gordon (Mrs Disney Leith)

JANET POWNEY AND JEREMY MITCHELL

Mary Gordon's fiction weaves plot lines through the traditional dilemmas faced by young women and, to some extent men. Heterosexual marriage was the traditional path for girls, and 'who shall I marry?' – especially across the fault lines of class and religion – is the persisting question in most of Gordon's fifteen novels. Her stories were designed within a defined moral and religious code for a 'young readership'. The novels are set against the conventional morality of the time, glossing over deprivation, violence, crime, and corruption, to present situations of romantic and family attachment and disaffection, friendships and misunderstandings, though crippling disease and death often play a malign (or sometimes benign) role, in the way that relationships develop.

Mary Charlotte Julia Gordon (1840–1926) was a member of the landed gentry, with links to the aristocracy, though her family had reached that status in society relatively recently. Her paternal grandfather, General Sir Willoughby Gordon, had risen through the military and social ranks by making himself useful to those occupying the peaks of power and influence.[1] Gordon's father, Sir Henry Percy Gordon, was of a different stamp, though he, too, married into the ranks of the aristocracy: his bride was Lady Mary Agnes Blanche Ashburnham, daughter of the Earl of Ashburnham. An outstanding undergraduate at Cambridge and the first Honorary Fellow of his college, after a short career as a barrister in Chancery, he retired early to live the life of a cultivated country gentleman, who had inherited an estate in Aberdeenshire to add to his properties in the Isle of Wight.

Mary Gordon had a rich cultural upbringing, as well as being enveloped in material prosperity. Her mother (like her paternal grandmother) was a talented amateur artist, while her father was an accomplished etcher. She

had no formal schooling but her father taught her Mathematics, Ancient Greek, and Latin. She had a German tutor and spoke and wrote German, French, and Italian very correctly, and was self-taught in Icelandic. Like her mother, her grandmother and her aunt Julia were skilled amateur artists and Gordon was also a water colourist. One of her music tutors was the composer, Sterndale Bennet, who was so impressed with her musical talent that he wanted her to become a professional pianist – an inappropriate career for a woman then, especially one with Gordon's background. J. S. Bratton draws attention to the fact that:

> The paradoxes of the situation in which many middle-class women found themselves were often cruelly painful. Furnished with financial and marital expectations which were not necessarily to be fulfilled, they were expected to continue to regard an unattainable motherhood as their proper sphere, while supporting and occupying themselves in roles in which it was not desirable or even regarded as possible that they should excel.[2]

Any professional musical ambitions she had may have been thwarted, but Gordon played the organ at home and in her local churches in Aberdeenshire and the Isle of Wight, where she also coached the village choir and gave lessons to any child who showed musical promise. There were family concerts. Gordon and the rest of the family played stringed instruments, and her daughter Edith was often an accompanist in family concerts of classics and Scottish songs. As well as learning to play musical instruments, several of her children were competent amateur artists and illustrated Gordon's books.

Mary Gordon's childhood family was closely intertwined with their Isle of Wight neighbours, the Swinburnes. Gordon and the poet Algernon – whose mothers were sisters and fathers were cousins – enjoyed a close friendship in adolescence and young adulthood. A generally accepted view is that Algernon expected to marry his younger cousin, a fairly common practice in Victorian England.[3] However, Gordon chose a one-armed hero of the Sikh wars, Colonel (later General) Robert Disney Leith, an

Aberdeenshire neighbour, who was twenty-one years older than she was.[4] As adolescents, Mary Gordon and Swinburne worked together on literary projects and he probably encouraged her to write her first (anonymous) novel, *Mark Dennis; or, the Engine Driver: A Tale of the Railway* (1859) that she dedicated to his sister, Alice. Railway travel was relatively new, still exciting and dangerous – there was no roof over driver or fireman, and train speeds exceeded that of any previous transport. Mark Dennis is a young fireman on an excursion train that, scandalously for some, ran on a Sunday. He dies in a crash, leaving his young wife Lizzie with a baby daughter to face the future, trusting in God.

Five years later came a unique and curious joint publication with Swinburne, set in the sixteenth century, about the kidnapping of boys to sing in the choir of the Chapel Royal. Atypically for Gordon's fiction, *The Children of the Chapel* is full of beatings, bullying and other cruelties suffered by the boys and this was doubtless due to Swinburne's influence. The book was originally published anonymously as by the author of *Mark Dennis*. It was not until the third edition in 1910 that Gordon acknowledged authorship under her married name, Mrs Disney Leith, with Swinburne identified as the author of *The Pilgrimage of Pleasure,* a play incorporated in the book.

When apart, Swinburne and Gordon corresponded frequently. Their letters are written in a childish cipher in which the initial letters of words, and sometimes syllables, are transposed: 'My dearest cousin', for example, becomes 'Cy merest dozen'. After her marriage in 1865, their direct correspondence discreetly ceased until her husband died, although the cousins kept up to date with each other's activities through their close family connections. Once a widow, Gordon resumed this lively personal coded correspondence with Swinburne until his death in 1909.

In 1864, Gordon also made her first periodical contribution in a story for *The Monthly Packet,* an Anglo-Catholic publication edited by Charlotte Yonge as 'Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church'. Yonge's own fiction embodied self-sacrifice, virtue and piety. She thought girls were indiscriminate devourers of fiction and the most likely way of reaching them was through moralising put into actions in semi-religious

fiction. Yonge sugared the pill of Christian morality with romantic and gently adventurous stories, as Gordon did later.

The story, 'Hvit the Fosterling', grew out of Gordon's initial Icelandic and Viking interests that she later pursued enthusiastically as a widow.[5] The account of Hvit's conversion to Christianity and subsequent persuasion of his foster family to convert, is contrasted with his natural father's violence in the Viking tradition, where great warriors go to Valhalla after death. Gordon's anonymous story, published a year before her marriage, reflects Victorian obsessions with both Christianity and the supposedly heroic ideals of the Vikings.

After Gordon's next two anonymous novels, *The Chorister Brothers* (1867) and its sequel, *The Incumbent of Axhill* (1875), both located in England, most of her subsequent fiction was set, or partially set, in Aberdeenshire, where the family lived for several months every year. Like Queen Victoria, the family would take the train, travelling in a private railway coach, attached to a regular train, for the journey between Aberdeenshire and the Isle of Wight. The latter also often featured in her stories. Probably her most interesting novel, *Undercliff,* gives vivid descriptions of the beautiful downs and cliffs of the island where she spent much of her early childhood and where Swinburne climbed the steep and dangerous Culver Cliff.

In 1881, Gordon was forty-one and living with her six children on her husband's Scottish Estate, Glenkindie. (The family moved around in Aberdeenshire living also at different times at Westhall, Kincardine Lodge, and Knockespock.) Her youngest, 'Binkie', was five and three other daughters were ten, twelve, and fourteen. These probably comprised her main initial audience, as her tales were possibly too unadventurous for her two sons, age fifteen and eight.[6] Daughter Edith in her unpublished memoir remembered how, during their adolescence, 'Dearest', the family name for Gordon, used to read them a story's next part from the galley proofs. The three older girls would rush off after lunch to the sunny wood behind the house. Edith remembered the 'heavenly smell of young larch and whispering sound of wind behind us and it seems the sun always shone. Before us was the wonderful panorama of the Deeside hills from Clacnaben to the Pass of Ballater'. Edith also spoke lovingly of her mother, writing that people did

not initially recognise what remarkable and diverse gifts her mother had 'but what did shine out and impressed everyone was her *goodness*'.[7]

All Gordon's fiction and most of her non-fiction was written in simple prose, appropriate for the widest range of young people. The latter part of the nineteenth century had seen rapid developments in literacy, building on the Scottish tradition of eighteenth-century parish schools for boys and expanding Sunday School provisions from diverse religious affiliations. Scotland had a creditable educational reputation by 1872, when legislation introduced compulsory education for five- to thirteen-year olds and provided for the funding of state-sponsored free schools to be run by school boards. Large imposing Victorian school buildings, many of which are still in use today, underlined the importance of education to communities, just as the turbulent nineteenth-century religious revival required impressive churches. With the spread of literacy came the provision – especially for children and adolescents – of reading material to reflect differences between competing religious tendencies.

Religious debates and publications for children

Gordon's first two novels set in Scotland, *Auld Fernie's Son* (1882) and *Ruthieston* (1883), used simple romantic stories as the context for exploration of the contemporary debates between different approaches to Christian belief, especially between the Tractarian, High Church influences in the Episcopalian Church of Scotland and the Calvinist orientation of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The former stressed continuity with the pre-Reformation church and the importance of the sacraments of communion and confession as conduits for God's grace. In terms of religious practice, these beliefs were expressed in an increasing emphasis on ritual, such as a surpliced choir or a procession with a cross. However, within the Episcopalian Church of Scotland there was resistance to the Tractarian movement from those who thought that it was influenced by Roman Catholic practices. In Gordon's *Ruthieston* (1882), an English minister, Wingate, takes up his first Scottish post at a parish in the Braemar hills. Major Glen, the lay representative, expects him to maintain 'St Peter's services in their due simplicity and solemnity' and hopes the Reverend

Wingate 'is not infected with the sad errors and popery so grievously undermining the Church of England'.[8]

The fundamentals of church schism in the sixteenth-century Reformation were thus reincarnated in a lesser form in the nineteenth century, influencing the choice of church and forms of worship. Gordon presents the argument in *Ruthieston*:

> The holy Catholic Church throughout the world is the guardian of truth in its most primitive as well as Catholic purity; as it was in apostolic times and those immediately following, before the Church of Christ had been rent and troubled by the thousand and one forms of heresy that have grown up since. The whole system of Presbyterianism is only a reaction (going as reactions generally do, to the opposite extreme) from the corruptions with which the primitive Church had been overlaid for ages. But that church, here as in England, was also permitted by God's mercy to purify herself of the errors without losing her hold of the Catholic truth. (190)

Gordon was firm in her advocacy of the old – Catholic, but not Roman Catholic – ways and had all her children baptised as Episcopalians. Her beliefs thread persistently through her fiction, though not in the heavy, proselytising approach used by many evangelical authors published by the Religious Tract Society (RTS). Many commercial publishers saw the financial as well as spiritual gains in producing such religious books. For example, Walter Smith, Joseph Masters and Rivingtons, who between them published most of Mary Gordon's books, were all linked to the Tractarian, High Church movement.

Books with an emphatic Christian message – whether Tractarian, Evangelical or Nonconformist – were frequently given away as prizes, especially by Sunday schools. Inside the front cover or on the front endpaper they often had a florid bookplate, usually inscribed in copperplate handwriting. For example, the inscribed bookplate in the authors' copy of M. S. Haycraft's *At Aunt Verbena's* (1897) reads 'Presented by the Proprietors of the Christian Commonwealth to Elsie Aldridge being prize for Kindergarten

(Needlework) competition February 1897'. One wonders what little Elsie sewed to earn this prize – and, moreover, how she would read it, as the 184 pages of text would certainly be beyond a child of kindergarten age nowadays. It was common for prize books to have illustrated or highly decorated covers and illustrations within. The smarter ones might even have all-edged gilt pages and gilt highlights on the covers. Gordon's first book, *Mark Dennis* (1864), has gilt highlights on the front cover; later ones, such as *Undercliff* (1890,) has a picture as well as gilt decorations on the front cover. Inside, there are illustrations by one of Gordon's daughters, Maria Alice, who also illustrated Gordon's non-fiction book for children, *Peeps at Many Lands – Iceland* (1908). *Three Visits to Iceland* (1897), also suitable for older children, is not only illustrated by Gordon and her daughters but also with black and white photographs taken by her elder son, Alick.

The suitability of Gordon's novels as wholesome prizes is confirmed by the inclusion of *Ruthieston, Like his own Daughter, From over the Water* and *Rufus* in Charlotte Yonge's *What Books to Lend and What to Give*, published in 1887.[9] This is a wide-ranging survey of 955 books considered suitable for Sunday and parochial school prizes or for reading aloud at mothers' meetings and missionary working parties. A chapter itemising books on the sacrament of confirmation, including *Ruthieston*, is an indication of both Charlotte Yonge's and Gordon's Anglo-Catholic framework of belief.

Living in Aberdeenshire as well as on the Isle of Wight, Gordon found it easy to use both locations realistically and sometimes as a mirror to her own family's movements. In *From over the Water* (1884), Episcopalian Calder McArthur leaves his girlfriend Lizzie in Ardhill in Scotland to become the new bailiff on the Cheveley estate on the Isle of Wight. The owner of the estate is young Fred Warham, who lives with his sister Minnie, described as 'subservient to her brother's pleasure'. McArthur is soon bewitched by the beautiful Selah Maynard, his landlady's niece. She had:

> a faultlessly moulded mouth and chin, and a complexion rather too delicate in its white and pink for robustness, but lovely as a peach bloom, joined to a tall, fine figure, made up altogether a beauty of

> no common type and which might well strike a more fastidious eye than McArthur's.[10]

However, Selah was courted by her cousin, Lin Bastiani, an exotic descendent of a marooned Italian sailor. Despite his voice being good enough for him to be professionally trained, he was considered as 'not steady' enough to cope with city life. Lin and Selah were cousins as their grandmothers were siblings. The Warham family take Selah with them when they go to 'Pitgaudie' and Gordon describes the beautiful series of hills at Bennachie in Aberdeenshire so familiar to her. Selah gets lost when walking the hills and is found by McArthur's Lizzie who looks after her – a romantic complication. Back on the Isle of Wight, a series of dramatic events is set in motion when Bastiani, believing he has killed McArthur out of jealousy, sails away, to return mortally wounded after Selah's decline and death. Meanwhile, McArthur returns to Aberdeenshire and finds Lizzie in decline. However, she revives when she sees him; they are reconciled and marry.

Gordon guides her young readers to abhor broken promises – McArthur's to sweetheart Lizzie, Selah's to Bastiani. She underlines that beauty such as Selah's is to be distrusted compared with the unpretentious nature of sweet, dependable Lizzie. Class divisions are carefully maintained, with the young landowner being kind and thoughtful to his tenants and staff. Underpinning the whole story are firm Episcopalian sentiments and all of the numerous deaths, even Selah's and Bastiani's, are met in true Christian piety.

With their pervasive religious content, it is to be expected that Gordon's books would be wholesome, without any untoward content; parents could be reassured about their teenagers reading them. To start with, her Aberdeenshire heroines were sincere lassies, attractive rather than beautiful, dutiful to their parents and not too proud or prosperous to work hard and wear modest outfits, as befitted their place. For example, Nora, the heroine of *Nora's Friends* (1889), the only child of the Reverend Glyn, a widowed Aberdeenshire clergyman:

> was a winsome little maiden […] her hair of a rich auburn […] her grey eyes sparkled with vivacity […] and there was much piquancy

> and character in the small slightly retroussé nose, smiling lips and firm little chin.[11]

Nora's characteristics and appearance suggest a good Christian girl. She and her father (also with auburn hair) make friends with the Heathcote family, who own a great deal of landed property in Aberdeenshire and the Isle of Wight – as, in real life, did Gordon's own family. Nora's close friend is Irene Heathcote, the indulged, self-centred, hypochondriac daughter, who eventually becomes a communicant under Nora's father, the Reverend Glyn. Nora has remained a sturdy friend to Irene throughout and is likely to become a sister to her when Arthur Heathcote proposes to Nora. Both families agree to an unofficial engagement before Arthur leaves to join his regiment.

Nora's Friends finishes on this romantic cliff-hanger and the story is resumed in *Undercliff*. Arthur returns, but takes up horse-racing and gambling, to the abhorrence of the Reverend Glyn: the engagement is off. There is more wickedness in the character of Lippincott, the family's agent, who not only leads Arthur into mischief but also ignores his responsibilities to tenants and, most shocking of all, courts Irene. Nora considers this to be taking liberties, even though he is a gentleman. Lippincott falls, or jumps, over a cliff and dies clutching a betting slip on Arthur's horse losing an important race. The possibility of suicide is glossed over by the Reverend Glyn and others. Irene is shattered by Lippincott's death, goes into decline and dies, admitting her love for the Reverend Glyn and asking forgiveness from everyone. Meanwhile, the Reverend Glyn has remarried and Nora no longer feels he needs her. To complete the story, Arthur, shocked by Lippincott's betrayal, gives up horse racing and is reconciled to the church. He marries Nora, with her father's blessing. This trilogy therefore emphasises appropriate behaviour for young people, keeping within class and religious boundaries: obedience to parents, distrust of excess, conformity, and religious guidance for a good life. Gordon illustrates and endorses women's subservience to men – father, brother, husband.

These characteristics are endorsed in another of Gordon's series of related novels. This starts with her first book *Mark Dennis* (1854). Mark, an engine

driver, dies leaving a widow and a baby daughter, Jennie. In *Champion Sandy* (1910), Jennie works for the Meiklejohn family in Deeside where she meets and marries Alexander (Sandy) Kitto, who worked at the post office before he became world wrestling champion. The opening verse is:

> *None can ever match his fling*
> At a reel, or round a ring;
> *Wightly can he wield a rung*
>
> *A' his praise can ne'er be sung*
> By the langest-winded sangster.
> Sangs that sing o' Sandy
> Come short, though they were ne'er sae lang

Sandy is described as: 'six feet five in his "stocking soles", and was broad and muscular in proportion; a heavily built man, the heaviness for bone and muscle, for at present he carried no superfluous weight. He had a handsome face too, when you looked high enough – a dark well-featured face, close shaven but for the thick black moustache, with soft, rather dreamy brown eyes'.[12] This is, in fact, a moving description of Gordon's late husband, Colonel Robert Disney Leith who died eighteen years before *Champion Sandy* was published. Like her own husband, Alexander (Sandy) Kitto loses his arm towards the end of the story. This happens in saving his ne'er-do-well half-brother from committing suicide under a train. Initially, Jennie is uncertain about marrying Sandy, partly because of her ailing grandparents in England and partly because he is a Dissenter and she is a staunch Episcopalian. He goes to Canada and marries Jennie on his return, having earned enough in wrestling competitions to set up home at the Stralogie Temperance Hotel. They rent a sitting (i.e. a pew) in the local Episcopalian Church. By three years later, they have three young boys but Sandy still refuses to be confirmed as a full member of the Episcopalian Church of Scotland, much to his Jennie's regret. Depressed after losing his arm, unable to participate in future games, he loses his faith until Mr Holbrook reminds him to remember all the blessings he has experienced by becoming champion and having a loving

wife and family: he should not mind about giving up the 'corruptible crown of success'. When Jennie loses a baby just after birth and is desperately ill, Sandy prays in church for her life. Later, they have a healthy baby daughter, Mary Jean, who becomes the heroine of *A Black Martinmas* (1912) and *Lachlan's Widow* (1913). He is offered the job of overseer by Colonel and Mrs Eastman, who buy the local estate, and at last he is confirmed as a full member of the Episcopalian Church.

The author again underlines the importance of class distinctions: Jennie is described as a

> tall, slim girl of nineteen, with dark hair and eyes and a beautiful rich complexioned face – a face that when you care to look at it, would have been striking in any rank of life; her dress, becoming and light though not showy, was that of the well-to do working class. (1)

When Jennie first joins the Meiklejohns, she travels second class with the butler and the lady's maid 'rather a grand lady'. The master and mistress, head nurse, and three children travel first class. When paying for herself, Jennie goes third class to London to visit her grandparents.

In the sequel, *A Black Martinmas*, Sandy Kitto is now a widower living with his eighteen-year-old daughter, Mary Jean, now known as Mollie, and his two youngest children. They are fairly well off, as he is now equivalent to head gardener on Mrs Eastman's estate. Mollie falls in love with the temporary gardener, Lachlan, a widower with four children. However, Lachlan already has a marriage understanding with another woman, who initially refuses to release him from the engagement. Mollie's dilemma is whether to tell her father about meeting and becoming fond of Lachlan. She does not want to disobey him. When Sandy does find out, he throws Lachlan in the river. All seems to be resolved when Lachlan's fiancée releases him from the engagement and he and Mollie prepare to marry with Sandy's approval. The twist in the story is that a tree falls on Lachlan, par-alysing him and resulting in his eventual death. Mollie and Lachlan marry on his deathbed, to prevent Lachlan's children being sent to the workhouse.

The final book in the series, *Lachlan's Widow* (1913), picks up Mollie's story. She is now twenty and lives with her father Sandy, who has been made bailiff of the Craigenfinnoch estate. They are looking after Sandy's remaining son at home as well as Lachlan's two young children. Sandy advertises for a housekeeper, Annie McFee, to help Mollie and in due course marries her. Mollie, still a devout Episcopalian, is courted by the Reverend Donald Mackie, the local deacon, 'a country bred golf loving boy, but earnestly devoted to his work and believing in a great future for St Mary's of Portcoull'. Mollie is tempted but sees her dilemma:

> if she accepted this youth and eventually married him, it would be a rise in status much above her present life. She would be on a different level in society – would mix with other clergymen's wives, better born and more highly educated than herself. She would dine with the laird, be invited to garden parties and social functions in town; she would head and direct all the little parish organisations which were usually run by women. In time she might be head of a comfortable rectory, with a couple of servants, maybe a pony carriage, even a tiny motor. And – what would weigh personally above all, she could give her "children" a better start in life. All sorts of wild possibilities flashed through her mind […].[13]

She gently refuses him but becomes rather unhappy, as she does not get on with her stepmother or her stepsister. Mollie's father has a close friend, Johnny, who has watched Mollie grow up for the last twenty years; having refused his first proposal when she was only eighteen, she now realises he is the truest friend she has ever had and marries him. *Lachlan's Widow,* the end of the serial, or soap opera, was the last fiction that Gordon published.

Misdemeanours, lies, and deceit

Through the children in her fiction, Gordon illustrates morality for the young. In those novels that have young children as key figures in the plot, she illustrates the temptations that she has probably perceived among her

own children. For boys, bullying, lying, and deceiving one's parents are seen as extremely serious. In *The Children of the Chapel* (1864), Master Gyles, the tyrannical and sadistic Master of the Chapel Royal, bullies the youngsters who have been press-ganged into the choir. Some in turn bully others, resulting in the tragic death of one of them. This is a highly moralistic and largely unbelievable tale, presumably directed at young boys interested in adventure but prone to carelessness with their schooling, their behaviour and their trust in God. Quite unlike Gordon's other stories, it is embellished with gratuitous beatings, presumably as a result of the book being a collaborative venture with her cousin Swinburne.

In *The Chorister Brothers* (1867*)* lads cover up their misdemeanours with lies. The younger chorister brother, Alfred Hayward, does it all. He is 'a remarkably pretty child of the delicate spiritual type of true London beauty'[14] with blue eyes, fair hair and a pert face. However, he bullies a younger child. He swaps his uncle's gift of a silver chain for a seat at a concert of Handel's music that he has been forbidden to attend. He steals his brother Ambrose's purse to take with him (but it is stolen from him at the railway station). These misdeeds are discovered by the minister. However, Alfred behaves selfishly about his injured ankle, despite Ambrose being desperately ill with fever. When he realises Ambrose could die, he repents and becomes more oriented towards religion, though there are occasional lapses. While Ambrose recovers, Alfred's health deteriorates in his mid-teens, although he puts things right with his family, friends and the minister before he eventually dies. This protracted decline occupies sixty pages.

In *Trusty in Fight* (1893, though a first draft was written thirty years earlier) young Fred is mischievous, not fond of study and a great worry to his father, the vicar. His father punishes him for squabbling with his younger brother, who fell and hit his head:

> Mr. Thornburg had old fashioned views of discipline, and believed in the time-honoured and scriptural use of the rod in certain cases […] however much the boy might consider school inflictions fair matter for jesting, a paternal chastisement was an awful and mysterious thing only to be spoken of with bated breath.[15]

Fred is portrayed as a lovable character but wayward: refusing to study, rude and violent to siblings. But, worst of all in the eyes of his family, he lies to conceal his wrongs. He had lamed a pony but does not admit it until the pony dies two years later. He confesses to Sig, his older brother, who by this time is an invalid. Again, Fred makes great efforts to become more honest and devout.

Older girls in Gordon's fiction are more likely to deceive romantic competitors. In *Ruthieston* (1882), Selina Hall has aesthetic pretensions and wears a very Burne-Jones outfit. With her aunt's connivance, this beautiful creature pretends that she is engaged to Joseph, who is already promised to Tibbie, described as a

> very plain young woman […] a wistful earnestness in her honest grey green eyes. She was slight and spare, with one of those ill-assorted angular figures that give the beholder an uncomfortable consciousness of elbows. Not the typical "bonnie lassie" whom poets sing certainly. (7)

Nevertheless, Tibbie gets her Joseph, although his father disapproves and tries to prevent the match.

Romance and Death

Gordon reflected some of her own life in the locations she chose, with characters often similar to members of her own family and people she could have met on her estates. Gordon's own husband, at twenty-one years older than her, was only thirteen years younger than her father. In *Like his own Daughter,* Jeannie Ledingham marries Katie's father, who is nearly twenty years older, 'her head – like Katie's – resting on his shoulder'. Similarly, in *Lachlan's Widow,* twenty-year old Mollie Lowe marries her father's friend Johnnie, aged forty-two, who had loved her since she was a child. In both cases, the couple gradually get to know each other over a longish period and without romantic intent, on the girls' side anyway.

Class compatibility was an extremely important factor in nineteenth-century marriage. Landed gentry married landed gentry, or caused scandal

and possible family estrangement. Gordon shows in two novels how class misalliance comes to no good. In *Rufus*, the elopement of a young squire with the gardener's daughter, Mina, who abandoned her fisherman fiancé, Rufus, is doomed. She dies in childbirth, knowing that she could never fit in with her husband's family. He remarries someone eminently more suitable and Rufus eventually marries a quiet Aberdeenshire girl. In the sequel, *Undercliff*, Irene, daughter of the squire, becomes engaged to Lipincott, the estate manager, a notch below the gentry who own the estate. After his death, Irene goes into a decline and dies. Marriage within the same class is the desirable option.

The main protagonists in the rural stories frequently have connections with The Big House. Here, Gordon was on familiar ground. She uses descriptions of her own female relatives – mother, aunts and grandmother – to portray the usually gracious, elegant, gentle, understanding 'Lady' of the gentry's household, someone who is confident in her own role in society and patronises, in a kindly way, her tenants and employees. *Rufus* features:

> Lady Kennedy – a tall fine looking lady, handsomer than either of her daughters […] She was tall and rather stately in figure and had dark hair, slightly threaded now with grey […] rare sweetness in her smile, and a certain softness which shaded her dark, grey, kindly eyes and she spoke with prettily toned Scottish accent.[16]

However, Gordon tends to fall back on fairly standard prototypes for heroines. They are physically healthy – often glowing from walking lithesomely across the heather. None of them is extremely poor. They are, for example, daughters of train drivers, gardeners, bailiffs or modest clergymen. They are suitably grateful for the thoughtfulness of the gentry – for example, in giving a (very) modest wedding gown or an invitation to tea on betrothal.

Romance is not allowed to flourish when parents disapprove of the match, whether for religious, class, or other reasons. The Reverend Glyn disallows the match between his daughter and the flippant Arthur, who indulges in horse racing and betting, in *Undercliff*. In *A Black Martinmas*,

Champion Sandy Kitto, forbids his daughter Mollie from meeting Lachlan, who has been married before and already has children and a new fiancée. And there are those young people who regret a hasty promise and abandon their lovers in favour of someone more exotic, as in *From over the Water* and *Rufus*. The steady, virtuous, and quiet women get their true loves in the end. Passion is deemed an unreliable basis for a long-term relationship, although Gordon does (reluctantly it seems) acknowledge its unfortunate existence. Her passionate characters tend to be exoticised, like Selina in *Ruthieston* and Selah and Bastiani in *From over the Water.* Even Irene (*Undercliff*) comes to a sad end, having loved a ne'er-do-well who may have committed suicide, as well as having a deep, undeclared, and unrequited love for her mentor, the Reverend Glyn, father of her friend Nora.

Gordon's novels have the usual attractions, misunderstandings, and conflicts typical of romances written for the young: broken engagements, elopements, misalliances – hopefully leading to eventual contentment with an appropriate partner. Conflicts often occur between the duties of the younger generation to their elders and their choice of partner, as in *A Black Martinmas* and *Undercliff.* The patient Nora marries Arthur once he has reformed, Mollie marries Lachlan who is free from other commitments but paralysed after a tree falls on him. By marrying him, she will become the guardian of his children who would otherwise go to the workhouse.

Mollie's story illustrates the fact that the prevalence of early deaths in the nineteenth century meant the forcible reconstruction of many families. Orphans were taken over by relatives; widows and widowers remarried to bring financial and social security. Such changes may bring stresses: in *Nora's Friends* and *A Black Martinmas,* stepmother and daughter are initially out of sympathy with each other, but eventually become reconciled.

Invalids, such as little Katie in *Like His Own Daughter*, and even Sig in *Trusty in Fight*, are plucky, virtuous and become reconciled to God before their sometimes protracted deaths.[17] Unwell children receive much attention, partly to ensure that their faith (preferably, the Episcopalian version) is firm, practised in life, and a comfort in dying. As well as Alfred in *The Chorister Brothers*, there is in *Like His Own Daughter* ten-year-old little Katie, a sweet, pretty, vulnerable invalid who is very good at needlework,

especially fancy work. Katie is always cheerful in adversity until she has her leg amputated; thereafter, she fades away, comforted by her father Leslie and her companion, eighteen-year-old Jeannie Ledingham, a staunch Episcopalian. Jeannie is described by the author as a 'homespun, quiet little girl […] passably pleasant though never a beauty',[18] but patient, trusting, innocent, and loved by all. She is contrasted with her sister Helen, who is beautiful, stately and ambitious – to no avail as she fails to marry 'a gentleman' but lands up with a boring man she had previously refused. There are, however, many child characters who remain on the fringe, and are not described in any detail. For example, Freddie's eight siblings in *Trusty in Fight* are not even named. Similarly, Mollie Kitto's siblings in *Champion Sandy* remain anonymous. In each book, the author only chooses one of several children as a focus – Freddy in the former, and the young Lachlan in the latter, nursed back to health by his stepmother Mollie.

Through her fiction, therefore, Gordon indicates to young people the religious conviction, moral code and appropriate relationships that form the basis for a future happy life. The outside world is largely ignored, despite the poverty and the increasing urbanisation and industrialisation that took place during her life. She does not mention the vigorous political debates that were ongoing or the endless succession of colonial wars – in which both her sons were involved – and international conflicts. Her young heroines show independence of thought but do not challenge the role of women in society or touch upon universal suffrage. Mary operates within the status quo in restricted environments – at least until she goes to Iceland.

Icelandic adventures

The 1890s brought considerable upheaval and sadness in Gordon's family life. Her husband died in 1892 and her daughter-in-law, the young bride of her elder son, Alick, died two years later in childbirth, leaving a baby, Mildred, whom Mary brought up as her own child. Her younger son Disney, named after his father, went out to India as a young army officer, and died there of enteric fever at the age of twenty-four. A year later her mother, to whom Mary was very close, died. She also lost her father's brilliant sister,

Aunt Julia, as well as Swinburne's mother, her mother's sister, who was a friend and confidante as well as a relative. It was largely to her daughters that she turned for companionship.

Perhaps partly for consolation, in 1894, two years after the death of her husband, Mary took a ship from Leith in Scotland to Iceland with three of her adult children. By this time, she could read Icelandic fluently, though her pronunciation was wobbly, as she discovered when talking with Icelandic fellow passengers on the voyage. What she did know was a lot about the history of Iceland, in particular the Viking and Bishop Sagas. Her great heroes were those bishops and others who were martyred in the sixteenth-century Lutheran reformation of the Catholic Church that had been established in Iceland in about AD 1000. She regarded the Lutherans in the same light as the Presbyterians, who usurped the true Catholic Church in Scotland.

This first visit was thirty years after her short story, 'Hvit the Fosterling', based in Iceland, had been published in Charlotte Yonge's Tractarian family magazine, *The Monthly Packet*. Since then, Gordon had taught herself Icelandic. Along with many other Victorians, she was caught up in Viking mania.[19] George Webbe Dasent's translation of *Njals Saga* (1861) stimulated wide interest and increased hardy tourism to Iceland. Among those Victorians who visited the country before Gordon were William Morris, Anthony Trollope, and H. Rider Haggard. Greater understanding of Iceland was provided by Sabine Baring Gould (1862), an Anglo-Catholic vicar who translated and recreated the stirring drama of Norse sagas (and later wrote the hymn 'Onward Christian Soldiers').[20] Earlier intrepid women travellers included the Austrian Mme. Pfeiffer (1845), who complained constantly about the people and conditions she encountered, and E. J. Oswald (1875), whose ship's cabin was flooded in an incident described by the captain as involving 'no danger – merely a blunder in the steering'.[21]

These earlier travellers could hardly have shown more enthusiasm than the middle-aged matron, 'Mrs Disney Leith', as she was known. On the ship she chatted to anyone who showed willing. The Disney Leiths were self-assured, well-equipped travellers who were already experienced riders of

the pony-sized Icelandic horses, as Gordon had imported some to her Aberdeenshire estate for riding and harnessing to her carriage, even for bringing in the harvest. Conditions in Iceland outside Reykjavik were basic. At that time, Iceland had a constitution granted by Denmark but did not become a sovereign state until 1918 or fully independent until 1944. There were no made-up roads, paths were not signposted and the mountainous land was covered, then as now, by volcanic lava, bogs, and occasional pasture. The earlier part of the century had seen famine, malnutrition, ill-health, leprosy and death, reducing the sparse population that in 1900 amounted to just 78000. Farms and tiny settlements were spread miles apart and most people lived in poverty, depending on the limited harvests, fishing and imports from Denmark.

She and her daughters made enthusiastic sketches and each kept a journal of their experiences. Gordon's notes resulted in an illustrated account of her impressions and published as *Three Visits to Iceland - Notes by Sea and Land* (1897). It included her translation from the Icelandic of the poem, 'Gunnar's Holm', by Jónas Hallgrimsson, a contemporary Icelandic poet whom she met and with whom she subsequently corresponded. Although not directly aimed at children, the book is clearly intended for a popular audience. Other translations Gordon published were stories associated with Bishops of Iceland – adventures, full of incident, religious debate and Viking violence that may well have interested adolescents.

She selected facts about Iceland that would interest children in *Peeps at Many Lands – Iceland* (1908), dedicated to her granddaughter Mildred and illustrated by Gordon and her daughter Maria Alice Wemyss. It includes a readable brief history, including a summary of *Njal's Saga*, as well as information about geysers, hot springs and waterfalls, and cultural aspects of Iceland. There is a charming description of travelling by pony, with indications of some of the possible hardships, including wet weather and unpredictable accommodation. It is an intriguing little book, aimed at attracting young people to want to visit the country, but it does not omit some of the less welcome features, such as the export of hundreds of ponies, many destined to be shipped to Leith en route to being worked in the coal mines of Scotland and England.

Gordon's translations of *The Stories of Thorwald the Far-Farer, and of Bishop Isleif* (1894) and *Stories of the Bishops of Iceland* (1895) might have appealed to teenagers interested in religion. For young readers, she wrote several articles in *The Scottish Standard Bearer,* a family magazine published by the Episcopalian Diocese of Aberdeen. *The Scottish Standard Bearer's* description of its aim as being to help the formation of character of young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five accords very well with Gordon's own objective.

Gordon's many articles in this monthly magazine included her personal account of the visit of the King of Denmark to the site of the ancient Icelandic parliament (Althing) at Thingvellir. Another, written jointly with her granddaughter, describes their climb to Hekla's crater when Gordon was seventy-two and Mildred eighteen. She went almost annually to Iceland making some eighteen visits altogether from 1894 until the beginning of the First World War.[22] In 1914 she was in Iceland on the outbreak of war and her neutral Danish ship was escorted back to Leith by a British destroyer. She never visited her beloved Iceland again. She died in 1926, aged eighty-six.

For most of her writing life, Mary Gordon was not a publicly known author: her novels and verse were published anonymously. In 1895, three years after her husband's death, with twelve novels already behind her, she emerged from the veil of anonymity to publish her remaining works under her married name, Mrs Disney Leith. It was only from 1910 onwards, at the age of seventy, that she achieved a degree of public recognition. This came with the reissue of *The Children of the Chapel*, first published anonymously nearly half a century earlier and now carrying the names of Mrs Disney Leith and Swinburne as joint authors. This new edition, which came out the year after Swinburne's death, was published by Chatto and Windus, Swinburne's publishers. Seven years later, Chatto and Windus published her memoir *The Boyhood of Algernon Charles Swinburne,* which remains an important source of information about the early lives of the two cousins.[23] With her books and magazine articles about Iceland now also published over her own name, she was firmly in the public eye. When she died, *The Times* printed an obituary[24] – a relatively rare accolade for a woman in those days.

What ultimately were Gordon's motives in writing novels aimed at older children and young people? To identify these, the importance of the part played by religious belief and practice in mid-Victorian times must be recognised. They not only identified family and social allegiances, but also were widely held to be paramount in guiding individual conduct. However, religion was also hotly contested ground. In particular, the mid-Victorian era witnessed a struggle between Nonconformity and Evangelicalism on the one hand and the Tractarian movement in the Church of England and Episcopalian Church of Scotland on the other. This latter, which developed into Anglo-Catholicism or High Church Anglicanism, had its origins in the sermons and tracts of Keble and the other members of the Oxford Movement in the years following 1833 and emphasised continuity in belief and practice with pre-Reformation Catholicism, with particular stress on the importance of the sacraments of communion and confession.

Though most of her books were anonymous, Gordon was in the forefront of this struggle for hearts and minds, using the novel as a way of conveying her convictions to children and young people and showing them how to apply religious principles to the problems they met in daily life. Using plots that focused on issues such as the choice of life-companion, conflicts of loyalty between generations and coping with prolonged illness and death, Mary used fictional contexts to convey to the young the Tractarian principles that she believed would stand them in good stead throughout their lives. The common theme found in all her novels, worked out in different plot situations, is that children and young people find themselves tested by changes in circumstance and relationships – they must prove themselves, not just to others but to themselves. This theme fits well with J. S. Bratton's conclusion that: 'The testing and developing of the character in the peer group […] was to become a central narrative and didactic method of novelists for the young'.[25]

Gordon's novels have not stood the test of time, in the sense that no young person would read them today. Nevertheless, in their day they clearly had an audience of older children and young people – and almost certainly some adults as well – which ranged well beyond rural Aberdeenshire and the Isle of Wight where most of the stories were set.

Notes

1 He was, for example, for five years Military Secretary to Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Albany, second son of King George III and commander-in-chief of the British army at the time of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. His social position had been reinforced by a 'good' marriage to a cousin of the Duke of Northumberland. As well as a town house in Chelsea with gardens running down to the Thames, built on land leased from the Crown for ninety-nine years at a peppercorn rent, he had a rusticated villa on the Isle of Wight overlooking the English Channel.

2 J. S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 138.

3 Jeremy Mitchell and Janet Powney, 'Swinburne, Mary Gordon, *A Year's Letters* and "Questionings"', *The Victorian,* 1, (2), Nov. 2013, available at journals.sfu.ca/vict/index.php/vict/article/view/62/35.

4 According to her daughter Edith, Mary's husband was extremely handsome. Despite losing his arm in the siege of Mooltan, he was one of the best shots and fishermen in Aberdeenshire. He had a wooden hand and the children would open and shut the jointed fingers. They were delighted when visitors became disconcerted, as he would unscrew his hand in order to screw in a specially made fork for carving. Edith, described their twenty-seven years of marriage as 'one of the happiest comradeships despite the difference in age': Earle, Lady (Edith). *Memoirs*. n.d. Unpublished unpaginated ts., Northcourt.

5 'Hvit the Fosterling', *The Monthly Packet.* Feb. 1864: 179–212.

6 She became well-practised in amusing her own four girls and two boys. One Christmas, staying at Kincardine Lodge, the family skated on the thick black ice on the small loch in the woods behind the house. Gordon put a pair of her husband's socks over her rubber boots to stop her slipping and spent hours running backwards and forwards pulling the smaller children along. For the children, it was a magic place. In the deep snow, the wagonette was converted into a sleigh drawn by horses with silver bells tinkling. Years later, Mary wrote a verse based on an Icelandic folk story that finished:

> What sadder words can any say?
> No children there.

In Iceland, a little boy was delighted when she cut little figures and a horse and cart out of paper. In 'The Children of Lund', an article published in *The Scottish Standard Bearer* (July 1904, pp. 148–49), Gordon recounts how she sent *The Boys Own Annual* to the Icelandic children at Christmas.

7 Earle, n.p.

8 *Ruthieston* (London: Walter Smith, 1882), pp. 19–21. All subsequent references in-text are to this edition.

9 Charlotte Yonge, *What Books to Lend and What to Give* (London: National Society's Depository, 1887).

10 *From over the Water* (London: Walter Smith, 1884), p. 4.

11 *Nora's Friends or, a little girl's influence* (London: J. Masters, 1889), p. 2.

12 *Champion Sandy* (Aberdeen: Dudgeon; Dumfries: Alexander Murray, 1910), p. 13.

13 *Lachlan's Widow* (London: Lynwood, 1913), p. 258.

14 *The Chorister Brothers* (London: Joseph Masters, 1867), pp. 2–3.

15 *Trusty in Fight or, The Vicar's Boys* (London: J. Masters, 1893), p. 26.

16 *Rufus* (London: J. Masters, 1886), p. 20.
17 One of the moral strands in Gordon's fiction is that villains and unscrupulous people come to a nasty end. The doctor in *Auld Fernie's Son* (1881) absconds with Christina and dies in poverty in Australia. In *A Black Martinmas* (1912), Jock, the lively lad who steals money from his cousin and flits to the United States, is unsuccessful there and also dies in penury. The naughty, but not wicked, brother Alfred in the *Chorister Brothers* dies and is mourned by Ambrose in *The Incumbent of Axhill* (1875).
18 *Like his own Daughter* (London: Walter Smith, 1883), p. 3.
19 *The Stories of Thorwald the Far-Farer, and of Bishop Isleif. Translated from the Icelandic* (London: J. Masters, 1894); *Stories of the Bishops of Iceland. Translated and selected from the Icelandic Biskupa Sögur. Includes 'Christmas at Skálholt', a poem by the translator* (London: J. Masters, 1895); Leith, Mrs Disney. *Three Visits to Iceland Notes by Sea and Land. With a translation from the Icelandic of 'Gunnar's Holm', by Jónas Hallgrímsson* (London: J. Masters, 1897); Leith, Mrs Disney. 'Iceland Ponies'. Illus. *The Stable* 4 Feb. 1899: 99–100; Leith, Mrs Disney. 'The Children of Lund'. *The Scottish Standard Bearer* Jul. 1904: 148–49; Leith, Mrs Disney. 'Notes on some Icelandic Churches'. *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research*. IV, 1904–05: 365–80; Leith, Mrs Disney. 'A Visit to the Waterfalls of Southern Iceland'. Pt. 1 *The Scottish Standard Bearer* Jun. 1905: 136–37. Pt. 2 *The Scottish Standard Bearer* Jul. 1905: 153–55; Leith, Mrs Disney. 'The Children of Thingvellir'. *The Scottish Standard Bearer* May 1906: 119–20; Leith, Mrs Disney. 'With Royalty at Thingvellir: the King of Denmark in Iceland'. *The Scottish Standard Bearer* Sep. 1908: 208–11; Leith, Mrs Disney. *Peeps at many Lands: Iceland* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1908); Leith, Mrs Disney. 'Tryppa-Gisli: A Reykjavik Character'. *The Scottish Standard Bearer* Dec. 1911: 272; Leith, Mrs Disney (intro.) and Mildred Katherine Leith, 'Climb to the Crater of Hekla', *The Scottish Standard Bearer* Feb. 1912: 41–42.
20 Baring-Gould, Sabine. *Iceland: its Scenes and Sagas* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1863).
21 Oswald, E. J., *By Fell and Fjord or Scenes and Studies in Iceland* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1882), p. 4.
22 Over the years, Gordon adapted her travel requirements to include tents and camping equipment. Photographs show her and her companions eating outside their tent, picnicking on a hill or loading the ponies. She grew to love the country and visited it eighteen times sometimes with a friend, sometimes with members of her family.
23 Leith, Mary C. J., 'The Boyhood of Algernon Charles Swinburne' and 'A Year's Mind' (poem). *The Contemporary Review* 97, 532. Apr. 1910, 385–399; Mrs Disney Leith, *The Boyhood of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1917).
24 *The Times*, Saturday 20 Feb. 1926, p. 14
25 Bratton, op. cit., p. 155.

V. FAIRYTALE AND FANTASY

17. Unlocking Scottish Balladry and Folklore in George MacDonald's 'The Golden Key'

LINDEN BICKET

In their recent reassessment *Rethinking George MacDonald: Contexts and Contemporaries* (2013), Christopher MacLachlan, John Patrick Pazdziora, and Ginger Stelle identify George MacDonald (1824–1905) as a major writer of the nineteenth century. He is, they write, not simply 'a literary descendant of the Romantics and an ancestor of modern fantasy writers', but an author whose works 'reflect the complex and nuanced world of nineteenth-century Britain'.[1] The last two decades' resurgence of interest in the Aberdeenshire author, poet, and Christian minister, George MacDonald, are a welcome critical development. However, this new critical interest, and the previously mentioned volume, also tells us something curious about MacDonald. He is a writer who can be considered – to use a fittingly Biblical phrase – both visible and invisible. His works have long been considered an important part of the canon of Victorian English literature for children, and his pioneering works of fantasy famously influenced Lewis Carroll, J. R. R. Tolkien and C. S. Lewis, to name a few. But MacDonald still remains invisible, or at least a shadowy, figure, who has yet to receive his due as an important nineteenth-century Scottish writer, and in the context of Scottish children's literature too. In his fiction for children, MacDonald mines native folkloric, ballad, and fairy tale sources; yet this is still a significantly under-appreciated element of his creative work.

This chapter will argue that a Scottish ballad heritage of song, and the living tradition of folktale in Scots and English are vital in helping readers to navigate a new path through the debatable land that is MacDonald's fiction for children. MacDonald's works are significantly informed by their author's childhood in the north-east of Scotland. Like the ballad world in which he was steeped during childhood, MacDonald's fairy tales are an ambiguous landscape. His stories traverse boundaries between fairyland

and our own world, but they also blur generic categories of Scottish folklore, fairy tale, ballad, and short story. Nowhere is this more apparent than in 'The Golden Key', one of the stories included in MacDonald's *Dealings with the Fairies* (1867) and generally regarded as one of the best and most complex of his fairy tales.[2] This collection was published almost a decade after MacDonald's well-known debut novel *Phantastes* (1858). It was his first major volume of children's tales, and was followed by *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871), *The Princess and the Goblin* (1872), and *The Princess and Curdie* (1883). 'The Golden Key' comes over three decades before MacDonald's much-celebrated final novel *Lilith* (1895).

MacDonald's sense of his Scottish identity was strong. His best-known works, *Phantastes* and *Lilith* are, like his children's stories, set chiefly in a fantasy realm, albeit one that draws much from the landscape of Scottish lore and folktale. MacDonald's 'realist' novels *David Elginbrod* (1863), *Alec Forbes of Howglen* (1865) *Robert Falconer* (1868), *Malcolm* (1875), *The Marquis of Lossie* (1877), and *Sir Gibbie* (1879) take place mostly in Scotland and employ Doric vocabulary. It is really only these works which have regularly been credited with belonging to a canon of Scottish writing or containing Scottish literary tropes and motifs. Andrew Nash notes that these novels 'reveal much that is distinctive about the author's Scottish Victorianism', while David Robb draws a firm canonical distinction between MacDonald's fantasy works and his realist novels with a Scottish setting. He writes that: '[MacDonald's] Scottish novels, long recognised as containing his best work outside his fairy fiction, afforded him the opportunity for self-exploration and for coming to terms with his Scottish origins. In doing this, they constitute a significant addition to nineteenth-century Scottish fiction.'[3] But while the boundary between MacDonald's realist works and his fairy writings may seem at first glance to be rather fixed, the influence of this writer's Scottish cultural heritage is more pervasive than simplistic realist/fairy and adult/child binaries would allow. Indeed, Robb acknowledges that 'like all MacDonald's "realistic" novels [*Alec Forbes of Howglen*] has many fairytale characteristics, both overt and subtle. It has its openly fairytale counterpart in the short story, "The Golden Key", written at about the same time and published two years later in 1867.'[4] MacDonald's Scottishness is not only to

be found in his Victorian novels for adults. Indeed, in both his children's stories and in his more naturalistic novels with a Scottish setting, MacDonald explores themes of belief, morality, and mortality, and both kinds of writing contain fantastical and specifically Scottish cultural ingredients.

MacDonald was raised in the religious and cultural customs of north-east Scotland. Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson has traced in detail the numerous letters in MacDonald archives which 'chronicle a family strong in Celtic pride'. She rightly observes that the MacDonalds' oft-noted Calvinism has, in critical studies, somewhat eclipsed their status as 'a family whose faith encompassed their love of literature and folklore'.[5] It is certainly true that MacDonald's critics often emphasise 'the psychological terrors of Calvinist dogma and the heightened superstitiousness of a phase of local religious revivalism' as part of the periods of 'melodramatic excitement' that filled MacDonald's childhood.[6] But Johnson's meticulous study of George MacDonald's maternal lineage has revealed that his maternal uncle's life, and the communities in which his family lived, not only provided MacDonald with much creative material, but also 'greatly influenced his own understanding and expression of his Gaelic heritage'.[7] His uncle, Mackintosh MacKay, was a farmer's son who became an eminent scholar and Church of Scotland minister, and Johnson argues that his 'love for the people and the land, for language and story, and for social justice and God' can also be traced in his nephew's works.[8] MacKay dedicated substantial energy and talent to the preservation of Gaelic, Scots, and the oral tradition. He published a collection of the MacKay bard Rob Donn's Gaelic poems, possessed a 'gift' for telling 'Celtic fairy tales', and undertook scholarly work which earned him the praise of Walter Scott.[9] Indeed, Scott acknowledged MacKay's aid in his story 'The Two Drovers'.[10] He also spoke with MacKay about 'the affair of 1745' and other 'highland matters' when writing *Waverley*.[11]

As Johnson also points out, Mackintosh MacKay's work is an important precursor to his nephew MacDonald's later fiction and poetry. In fact, '[a]s late as 1893 MacDonald was still endeavouring to have his uncle's achievements adequately honoured, indicating his persisting admiration'.[12] And although MacDonald bitterly regretted that he did not speak Gaelic, his son

Grenville traced MacDonald's literary gift to 'the bards' teaching of their history, memorized in a long array of heroic deeds and lofty emotions, [which] fostered the Celt's sense of freedom, his spirit of joyful submission to the chief and his inherent belief in the equality of man.'[13]

The influence of his family's love of orally-transmitted song, poetry and literature has been consistently undervalued by MacDonald's critics. Jason Marc Harris has identified that, while 'Scottish lore was important to MacDonald' and his childhood home of Huntly 'radiated Scottish culture', his 'moral focus is more prominent than his use of folk traditions.'[14] And though Colin Manlove's discussion of psychology and the unconscious in MacDonald's fantastical works is nuanced and revealing, it does not touch on the Scottish foundations of MacDonald's fairy corpus. In fact, the most persuasive argument for MacDonald's interest in and utilisation of Scottish ballad and folkloric sources comes from his work itself. It would be a mistake to ignore MacDonald's powerful affinity with Highland culture (his son Ronald claimed that 'in habit of mind, and in swift brilliance of fancy' he was 'radically a Gael').[15] It would be equally short-sighted to dismiss the MacDonald family's 'active promotion of literature' and 'passion for Scottish culture'.[16] But even if we were to overlook these important biographical elements of MacDonald's children's fiction, the evidence of Scottish source material in even the most cursory glances at his fairy stories is considerable. 'The Golden Key' works particularly well as a contextual study in this regard and, despite its small size in terms of MacDonald's oeuvre, this story points to his deep creative engagement with the culture of Scottish literature and song.

Published in 1867, 'The Golden Key' concerns the plight of a girl and a boy, Tangle and Mossy, who each leave their homes to enter Fairyland via a dark forest.[17] There they meet a beautiful woman, or 'grandmother', who sends them off, with the golden key that Mossy has found at the foot of a rainbow, to meet 'the Old Man of the Sea'. Together they navigate a land of shadows and a great lake. They age prematurely, becoming weary, ancient travellers, before they are separated. Tangle meets the Old Man of the Sea and asks him to help her return to the land where shadows fall, so that she can find her companion. The Old Man leads her to the Old Man of the

Earth, who guides her to the Old Man of the Fire. Tangle traverses a lake and a burning channel and finds herself in a cave deep underground. For seven years she watches a little, male child – the oldest man of all – play with coloured balls. He is the father of time, and deftly but gently shapes, moulds, and loves the world. This tender child offers to help Tangle. He accompanies her through a vast desert of sand and instructs her to follow a serpent. Meantime, Mossy has found the Old Man of the Sea, but by now he is even more ancient than the Old Man. He finds, after a little while, that he has become young again, and discusses mortality with the Old Man, who tells him that death 'is only more life' (302). The Old Man shows him a rainbow across the sea, and Mossy steps out upon the waves towards it, heading east. A shining fish under the waters guides his steps, and eventually he finds a great precipice of rock, which contains a keyhole bordered by sapphires. His golden key unlocks the way up some stairs, which he climbs, and these take him into the heart of the precipice. Waiting there is Tangle. She has grown beautiful and has waited for Mossy for seven years. They tell one another of all their adventures, and 'were as happy as a man and woman could be. For they were younger and better, and stronger and wiser, than they had ever been before' (306). But they still seek the land of shadows, and soon, observing the sapphire-rimmed keyhole in the rainbow's colours, they use the golden key again. To the sounds of Aeolian music and surrounded by other beautiful beings, Tangle and Mossy ascend a new staircase out of the earth – a rainbow – and '[t]hey knew that they were going up to the country whence the shadows fall' (308).

If 'The Golden Key' sounds rather like a sequence of loosely strung together dream-visions, it certainly has those qualities. The preface to MacDonald's earlier *Phantastes* – a lengthy quotation from the German Romantic poet Novalis (1772–1801) – declares that 'a fairy tale is like a dream picture without coherence, a collection of wonderful things and occurrences, e.g. a musical fantasy, the harmonic sequences of an Aeolian harp, nature itself'.[18] This description aptly defines the musical-sounding, dreamlike ending of 'The Golden Key'. Indeed the story's frequent references to sleep and dreaming have meant that it has often been interpreted as Romantic secularisation of MacDonald's Christian thought.[19]

The dream-like quality of MacDonald's works has also led to a number of psychoanalytical readings, most notably Robert Lee Wolff's Freudian interpretation, and Edmund Cusick's Jungian analysis.[20] Recently Bonnie Gaarden has provided a 'double reading' of 'The Golden Key', which interprets the story as both a Christian parable where two spiritual journeys merge, and as Jungian psychology. Gaarden suggests that Tangle's name suggests 'the complexity of the human psyche as a "tangle" of conflicting, contradictory, and fragmented impulses, instincts, and complexes'.[21] Erin Sheley has read Fairyland in 'The Golden Key' as reconciling 'the two sides of the [Romantic] debate over timescales in the Book of Genesis', while William Gray finds most currency in a psychoanalytical approach, by using themes from the writings of Kristeva, and thus the influence of Lacan, to interrogate notions of liminality in *Phantastes*.[22]

Together, all of these critical interpretations aid in pulling together the strands of MacDonald's richly-woven tapestry in 'The Golden Key'. But a reading which takes MacDonald's Scottish sources into account can help to open the story to broader dimensions than these Christian, Romantic, and psychoanalytic analyses. If we attend closely to the opening section of the story, it is clear that the borderline quality of the 'real world' setting is highly suggestive of Scottish ballad liminality.[23] The story begins by telling us of 'a boy who used to sit in the twilight and listen to his great-aunt's stories' (248). His great-aunt tells the boy (Mossy) of the existence of the golden key, which can be found where the end of the rainbow stands. Soon the narrative turns to describing the location of Mossy and his great-aunt's house. It 'stood on the borders of Fairyland' (249) and, during the evening twilight, Mossy gazes at the forest which 'fringed the outskirts of Fairyland' (250). The tale's narrator ends this opening section with a tantalising hint at Mossy's journey towards a beautiful, bejewelled rainbow which glimmers in the woods, just before the rather abrupt authorial intrusion: 'And now I will go back to the borders of the forest' (255). The details of the dusky twilight which only just illuminates the borders and fringes of that otherworldly fairy dwelling place are all very much in keeping with the '[b]ateable land' of the ballads, mentioned in the border ballad 'Kinmont Willie' (Child 186).[24] The porous geographical location of Mossy's house powerfully signals

the nearby presence of the uncanny, and it also indicates the potential slippage between the real and supernatural worlds. The fringes and borders of fairyland are a threshold that the (probably pubescent) hero Mossy will obviously cross, making the possibilities for adventure manifold.

The Border ballads are a particularly rich site of this kind of liminal setting and detail which Victor Turner likens 'to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or the moon'.[25] Fittingly, in 'The Golden Key', light – or, rather, the lack of it – signals the nearby threshold into Fairyland, which, the narrative reveals, 'is not dependent upon the sun' (252). In the ballad 'Thomas the Rhymer' (Child 37), Thomas and the Fairy Queen 'saw neither sun nor moon' in Fairyland, and in the enchanted wood of 'Tam Lin' (Child 39A), the heroine 'saw neither sun nor meen'.[26] It is highly likely that MacDonald was aware of border Ballads (which after all spring from the liminal space between the nations of England and Scotland), as well as ballads rich in Doric from the north-east, argued by Les Wheeler to be 'the real home of the ballad'.[27]

The Romantic recovery and revivalism of Scottish national song exerted a fascinating influence on MacDonald's creative work. Like the earlier pioneers of national song collection, James Macpherson (1736–96), Walter Scott (1771–1832) and the self-named 'King o' the Mountain and Fairy School' James Hogg (1770–1835), MacDonald's 'literary ballads' blur the lines between the inheritance of native song, and the imitation of it. Though they are critically rather neglected, MacDonald's imitations of traditional ballads show that he paid close attention to these Scottish songs. MacDonald's imitation ballads were published in *Works of Fancy and Imagination* (1871) and in the later collection, *Scotch Songs and Ballads* (1893). This made them concurrent with Francis Child's famed five-volume collection, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882–96). MacDonald's ballads are replete with the references and narrative structures also to be found in the Child ballads. 'The Mermaid', for example, is an attempt at a ballad in the vein of a wealth of songs about water spirits, selkies, kelpies and mermaids. Its stanzas tell us about a 'cauld sea-woman' who comes ashore to be wooed and wed by a king. She bears him a child, but eventually finds her way back

to the sea, having found her 'gowden locks', which she has searched for in 'kist, aumry and siller box'.[28] This is an echo of the usual tale of a sealskin, hidden from a female selkie, who eventually retrieves it and returns to the watery depths. MacDonald's own ballads are a reminder that he was well acquainted with the tropes of supernatural ballads, gathered together by early Scottish collectors.

While Marion Lochhead has rightly observed the connections between MacDonald's corpus and well-known ballads such as 'Tam Lin' and 'Thomas the Rhymer', her critic Anita Moss finds Lochhead's discussion of these 'Celtic stories' to be 'pleasantly informative', yet 'cursory and sometimes misleading'. Moss underestimates this important cultural connection, preferring instead to focus on MacDonald's links with Romanticism, and she also forgets that these ballad sources are not 'stories' – they are songs.[29] As Emily Lyle points out, '[w]e should never forget that the ballad is a sung genre with a whole musical dimension that is not caught by the printed text', despite the fact that '[t]he ballads have made their mark on published literature too, for many writers, most notably Burns and Scott'.[30] In addition to the 'Aeolian music' (307) which accompanies Tangle and Mossy on their journey to the land of shadows, the musical dimension of the ballads is a quietly allusive presence in 'The Golden Key'. Moreover, the imagery, formulae, and characters of these Scots songs appear in MacDonald's story of Tangle and Mossy, and these ballad elements frequently appear elsewhere in his fiction for children.[31]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the earlier context of eighteenth-century romantic revivalism, 'The Golden Key' is strongly redolent of Hogg's ballad 'Kilmeny' (1813), in which the heroine 'fell sound asleep' before she is 'waked by the hymns' of the fairy kingdom.[32] It is clear that MacDonald was familiar with this work, as he quotes from it in his children's novel *At the Back of the North Wind* (1868), and refers to its author, 'the shepherd', in a nod to Hogg's other sobriquet, the 'Ettrick Shepherd'.[33] References to sleep and dreaming in 'The Golden Key' are numerous, as they are in 'Kilmeny', which also owes much to the original, enduringly popular ballads of fairy abduction, 'Thomas the Rhymer', and 'Tam Lin'. The opening section of 'The Golden Key' is again a useful site of information in this regard. After Mossy's

great-aunt tells him of the golden key in the text's opening paragraph, he 'went to bed and dreamed' of it (249). This perhaps signals that the rest of MacDonald's story is a dream narrative, but there are dreams within dreams in this tale, meaning that the narrative is filled with potential beginnings. After he draws near to the rainbow in the wood bordering Fairyland, it disappears, and so the little boy 'threw himself down upon the mossy bed […] There he fell fast asleep' (253). Notably, it is only subsequent to this second reference to sleep in the mossy bed (and a new dream?) that the boy is named 'Mossy'.

When we are first introduced to Tangle, she too is 'put to bed early' (256), meaning that her adventures could quite easily also be reveries. As 'The Golden Key' unfolds, the image of dreaming becomes a prominent motif. Under the care of the beautiful lady of the woods, Tangle soon becomes 'lost in the strangest, loveliest dreams' (269). Mossy dreams about a box that the golden key can open. Tangle later awakes to meet the Old Man of the Sea, and she falls asleep in his bath, 'receiving all the good of sleep without undergoing its forgetfulness' (288). Even the Old Man admits to dreaming about the land of shadows. As in Hogg's ballad, 'Kilmeny', sleep is another liminal threshold between the 'real' and fairy world. And even more strikingly, Kilmeny spends seven years in her fairy underworld, like MacDonald's Tangle, who, after sleep, discovers that '[s]he was as whole, and strong, and well as if she had slept for seven days' (289). Like MacDonald's fairyland, which is lit by the same strange twilight as the ballads, the land that Kilmeny traverses is a place 'withouten sun, or moon, or night', and it appears most like 'an everlasting dream.'[34] Moreover, Kilmeny finds herself resting on an object that is an important precursor of Mossy and Tangle's mode of transport in 'The Golden Key':

> She 'wakened on a couch of the silk sae slim,
> All striped wi' the bars of the rainbow's rim;
> And lovely beings round were rife,
> Who erst had travelled mortal life;
> And aye they smiled, and 'gan to speer,
> 'What spirit has brought this mortal here?'[35]

Kilmeny reclines on a rainbow's beams in this passage, much like Mossy and Tangle, who, by the end of their journey, 'were in the rainbow. Far abroad, over ocean and land, they could see through its transparent walls the earth beneath their feet' (308). Like Kilmeny, who is surrounded by 'lovely beings', Tangle and Mossy climb their rainbow, 'and beautiful beings climbed along with them' (308).

In Douglas Mack's reading of 'Kilmeny' the heroine is in fact taken to Paradise. This interpretation can also be convincingly applied to the children's final destination in 'The Golden Key', and, indeed, Colin Manlove reads the story as an 'allegory of the journey of the soul towards heaven'.[36] Like Hogg's heroine, who 'is received with rejoicing into the land of spirits, to which she has been taken because of her perfect purity',[37] Mossy and Tangle have traversed a Fairyland closely similar to purgatory ('after sitting for a while, each, looking up, saw the other in tears: they were each longing after the country whence the shadows fell') (280). After their arduous journey through this purgatorial landscape, they are cleansed. Their youth and beauty are returned to them.

Like Thomas the Rhymer, Hogg's Kilmeny receives gifts during her time in the fairy realm. In keeping with ballad convention, the colour green signals otherworldliness, nature, and a fairy presence in both of these folk adventures. Where Thomas is gifted with 'a coat of the even cloth, / And a pair of shoes of velvet green', Kilmeny is given a 'bonny snood of the birk sae green'.[38] And like her abducted ballad ancestors, MacDonald's heroine Tangle receives from the beautiful lady of the woods 'a green dress. Just like her own, shining like hers, and soft like hers' (264). So mingled are the Christian and the fairy in 'The Golden Key' (and also of course in many of the traditional ballads, 'Thomas the Rhymer' included) that Tangle receives a kind of fairy baptism when the beautiful woman throws her into the sink to be washed and rubbed clean by feathery fish of all colours. These fish willingly offer themselves up for dinner, and their spirits take the form of 'lovely little creature[s] in human shape, with large white wings' (267), in an echo of the Highland folkloric belief that fairies often take the form of birds and other creatures.[39] And Tangle's bath might be said to echo Kilmeny's bathing in 'the stream of life' so that 'her youth and

beauty never might fade.'[40] After her bath, Tangle startles Mossy with her youth, beauty, and resemblance to the lady of the wood, with her 'tall and noble' form. (307–08).

Critical interpretations of the beautiful woman in the wood have long recognised her supernatural qualities, but have mostly concentrated on the spiritual, rather than folkloric elements of her construction in 'The Golden Key'. Gaarden notes that she 'performs the functions that MacDonald assigned to God-in-Nature, who is both material provider (mother) and spiritual tutor (servant) of the Christian', while Sheley argues that 'the lady suggests the primordial maternity of Eve'.[41] In many of the supernatural ballads, the Fairy Queen blurs distinctions between the divine and folk supernatural. The otherworldliness of the folkloric Fairy Queen in 'Thomas the Rhymer' is, of course, signalled by her dress 'of grass-green silk' – even though Thomas mistakes her for the 'mighty Queen of Heaven!', so regal and beautiful is she.[42] The beautiful woman of the woods in 'The Golden Key' is extraordinarily similar to the Queen of Elfland in these earlier Scottish songs. Tangle reflects that:

> She had never seen anything so beautiful. She was tall and strong, with white arms and neck, and a delicate flush on her face. The child could not tell what was the colour of her hair, but could not help thinking it had a tinge of dark green. She had not one ornament upon her, but she looked as if she had just put off quantities of diamonds and emeralds. Yet here she was in the simplest, poorest little cottage, where she was evidently at home. She was dressed in shining green. (260)

This woman's radiance dazzles Tangle. Her pale skin is akin to the 'milk-white' skin which signals beauty in the ballads (the beguiling maiden of 'Clark Colven', for example, bewitches the hero with her 'milk-white hand' and 'sleeve sae green').[43] Little Tangle gazes at the woman's 'great blue eyes', which look 'as if all the stars in the sky were melted in them to make their brightness' (261). These hypnotic eyes appear 'as if the moon were melted' in them, and the woman 'smiled like the sun through a summer shower'

(262). Stellar, lunar, and solar imagery makes the woman a heavenly foil to the later, elemental Old Men of the Earth, Fire, and Sea. But she is also glittering with jewels, and wears an updated, *fin-de-siècle* version of the mantle worn by the Queen of the Fairies in 'Thomas the Rhymer' (whose cloak is of velvet, and her horse's mane is decorated with 'fifty siller bells and nine').[44] Nonetheless, in 'The Golden Key' the beautiful woman sings to Tangle 'such songs as made her wish she could listen to them for ever' (these are surely ballads) and, in a convention typical of the ballad treatment of time in the fairy underworld, Tangle finds that though she has just met the woman, three years have passed (271).

MacDonald clearly found this beautiful female character a rich source of otherworldly ballad glamour. She appears in a number of his children's tales, in guises which vary only slightly, and she is frequently a singer, or tradition-bearer, who bewitches and beguiles young protagonists with ballad-like lullabies. In *The Princess and the Goblin*, Princess Irene listens to the tender singing of MacDonald's archetypal 'grandmother':

> And from somewhere came the voice of the lady, singing a strange sweet song, of which she could distinguish every word; but of the sense she had only a feeling – no understanding. Nor could she remember a single line after it was gone. It vanished, like the poetry in a dream, as fast as it came. In after years, however, she would sometimes fancy that snatches of melody suddenly rising in her brain must be little phrases and fragments of the air of that song; and the very fancy would make her happier, and abler to do her duty.[45]

It is not, perhaps, much of a stretch to suggest that this otherworldly song, sung in an unknown language, might resemble snatches of the Gaelic airs which the young George MacDonald would have heard sung by his older relatives, or by the crofters and shepherds of Huntly. His account of poetry as an oral medium 'not for the understanding or the heart only, but likewise for the ear; or, rather, for the understanding and heart through the ear' seems an apt description of the experience of Princess Irene, who listens dreamily to the grandmother's ballad-singing.[46]

There are still more features of 'The Golden Key' tale which strongly suggest MacDonald's awareness of Scots ballad tropes and structural motifs. Although Anja Gunderloch rightly notes that '[d]ialogue passages are a prominent stylistic feature of the ballads', dialogue is clearly not a surprising feature of Victorian children's stories.[47] However, in the context of the shadowy ballad opening to 'The Golden Key', the dialogue between Mossy and his great-aunt takes on greater significance when read as mirroring the question and answer dialogue and repetitive formula, or incremental repetition, seen in many Scots ballads. Mossy asks his great-aunt what his father did when he once found the golden key in childhood:

> 'And what did he do with it, can you tell me?'
> 'He never told me.'
> 'What was it like?'
> 'He never showed it to me.'
> 'How does a new key come there always?'
> 'I don't know. There it is.'
> 'Perhaps it is the rainbow's egg.'
> 'Perhaps it is. You will be a happy boy if you ever find the nest.'
> 'Perhaps it comes tumbling down the rainbow from the sky.'
> 'Perhaps it does.' (250)

This question and answer formula is seen in many of the ballads, most famously perhaps in 'Lord Ronald' (Child 12):

> 'Oh, where have you been to, Lord Ronald my son?
> Oh, where have you been to, my handsome young man?'
> 'I've been to the woods, mother, make my bed soon,
> For I'm weary o huntin' an fain wad lie doon.'[48]

Furthermore, while Mossy and Tangle's journey is so often read (not unconvincingly) as one suggesting the 'Creation chronology', a pilgrim's progress, or a journey of the soul, it also echoes many folkloric journeys, not least in the children's frequent navigation of lake, river, and seashore.[49] As Henderson

and Cowan point out, '[t]he crossing of some sort of water barrier is a common requirement for many travellers to the Otherworld, found time and time again, in myths, legends, sagas, and medieval romances'.[50]

'The Golden Key' is by the end a great tapestry shimmering with intertextual threads, and it is woven with considerable care by its author. MacDonald's corpus is one overflowing with literary and visual references, and 'The Golden Key' is no exception. It is startling for its plethora of reference points, and for its clear influence on later writers including Lewis Carroll, J. M. Barrie, and even Philip Pullman. As the story progresses, we glimpse echoes of Cinderella, as Tangle is 'neglected and left untidy' and 'sometimes ill-used' by the idle, careless servants who raise her after he father's death (255). She and Mossy become Hansel and Gretel as they wander the forest together. They transform into Andersen's Gerda and Kay, of 'The Snow Queen' (1844), as they gaze 'sharp, blue, ice-enamelled pinnacles' (277). Even the fairies in 'The Golden Key' are informed readers of fairy tale, mythlore and legend. They spy on Tangle as she reads 'Silverhair', and they engineer a way to drive the untidy little girl from the nearby, very orderly fairyland – a place governed by specific cosmic rules. The fairies stage a recreation of 'Silverhair' in Tangle's surroundings, and '[s]he did just as Silverhair did, and as the fairies wanted her to do' (257). These fairies use fairy tale conventions as weapons in their mischievous battle. They, like MacDonald, know the power of stories.

In a sense, then, the 'The Golden Key', like the great traditional ballads, is the product of a community of authors over time. Just as a ballad is remade on every performance, MacDonald synthesises a number of sources and makes them new. However, it is the native sources of balladry and folktale which truly unlock this tale to broader creative and compositional dimensions. These sources point to the way in which a Scottish cultural inheritance of ballad and folksong are used by MacDonald as an imaginatively and spiritually empathetic point of connection in his literature for children. It is hoped that with continued interest in all of MacDonald's sources and retellings, his identity as a major Scottish children's writer will at last leave the land of shadows and become visible.

Notes

1 Christopher MacLachlan, John Patrick Pazdziora, and Ginger Stelle, 'Introduction' to *Rethinking George MacDonald: Context and Contemporaries* (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2013), p. v.

2 Bonnie Gaarden writes that that 'The Golden Key' is 'the fairy tale widely considered [MacDonald's] best': Bonnie Gaarden, '"The Golden Key": A Double Reading', *Mythlore*, 93/94 (2006), 35–52 (p. 36). Colin N. Manlove writes that '*The Princess and the Goblin*, 'The Golden Key' and one or two others of the short fairy tales probably comprise the best of MacDonald's "fairy" writing': Colin N. Manlove, *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 83.

3 Andrew Nash, 'Victorian Scottish Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*, ed. Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 145–58 (p. 149). David Robb, 'George MacDonald's Scottish Novels' in William Raeper, *The Gold Thread: Essays on George MacDonald* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990; repr. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2015), pp. 12–30 (p. 12).

4 David S. Robb, *George MacDonald* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987), p. 49.

5 Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson, 'Speaking Matrilineally (and Especially of Uncle Mackintosh MacKay)', in *Rethinking George MacDonald*, p. 240.

6 David S. Robb, *George MacDonald*, p. 46.

7 Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson, 'Speaking Matrilineally', p. 236.

8 Ibid., p. 241.

9 Ibid., p. 243.

10 Johnson notes that 'Scott's *The Two Drovers* explicitly acknowledges MacKay's aid' in 'Speaking Matrilineally', p. 250. In *Chronicles of the Canongate* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1896), Scott acknowledges the light shed on the character of the Highland drover by the drover poet Rob Donn, and quotes from two of his songs, calling Donn's airs of these pieces 'very beautiful'. He then quotes from the *Quarterly Review* (No. XC. July 1831), in which they were originally published, alongside the following: 'Rude and bald as these things appear in a verbal translation, and rough as they might possibly appear, even were the originals intelligible, we confess we are disposed to think they would of themselves justify Dr Mackay (their Editor) in placing this herdsman-lover among the true sons of song.' See: www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/etexts/etexts/twodrovnotes_1751.htm [accessed 17 April 2015].

11 Walter Scott, from a journal entry dated 13 February 1828, in *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by W. E. K. Anderson (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1998), pp. 479–80.

12 Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson, 'Speaking Matrilineally', p. 244.

13 Greville MacDonald, *George MacDonald and his Wife* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1924), p. 38.

14 Jason Marc Harris, *Folklore and the Fantastic in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 62.

15 Ronald MacDonald, 'George MacDonald: A Personal Note', in *From a Northern Window: Papers, Critical, Historical and Imaginative*, ed. Frederick Watson (London: James Nesbit, 1911), pp. 55–113 (p. 77).

16 Kirstin Jeffrey Johnson, 'Speaking Matrilineally', p. 240.

17 George MacDonald, *Dealings with the Fairies* (London: Alexander Strahan, 1867).

18 This quotation is translated in Colin Manlove, *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies*, p. 65. The quotation from Novalis is printed in German in *Phantastes*: 'in Mährchen ist wie ein Traumbild ohne Zusammenhang. Ein Ensemble wunderbarer Dinge und Begebenheiten, z. B. eine Musikalische Phantasie, die harmonischen Folgen einer Aeolsharfe, die Natur selbst' (George MacDonald, *Phantastes: A Faerie Romance for Men and Women* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1858), n.p.).

19 Bonnie Gaarden argues that 'MacDonald's writing, especially his fantasy writing […] forms a sort of crux between the supernaturalism/salvationalism of traditional Christianity, and the more secular human-development models ushered in by poets, philosophers, and psychoanalysts from Wordsworth to Hegel to Jung': Bonnie Gaarden, '"The Golden Key": A Double Reading', p. 36.

20 See: Robert Lee Wolff, *The Golden Key: A Study of the Fiction of George MacDonald* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), and Edmund Cusick, 'George MacDonald and Jung', in William Raeper (ed.), *The Gold Thread: Essays on George MacDonald*, pp. 56–86.

21 Gaarden, '"The Golden Key": A Double Reading', p. 49.

22 Erin Sheley, 'From Eden to Eternity: The Timescales of Genesis in George MacDonald's "The Golden Key" and Lilith', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 28.4 (2004), 329–44 (p. 330). William Gray, 'George MacDonald, Julia Kristeva and the Black Sun', in *Death and Fantasy: Essays on Philip Pullman, C. S. Lewis, George MacDonald and R. L. Stevenson* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp. 9–24.

23 For more on Scottish ballad liminality, see: Lizanne Henderson and Edward J. Cowan's *Scottish Fairy Belief: A History* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 39–46.

24 'Kinmont Willie', in Emily Lyle (ed.), *Scottish Ballads* (1994; repr. Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), p. 35, stanza 20.

25 Victor Turner, 'Liminality and Communitas', in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2008), p. 95.

26 'Thomas the Rhymer' in Lyle (ed.), p. 134, stanza 15. 'Tam Lin', in Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 50, stanza 10.

27 Wheeler argues that 'The Border Ballad title is simply a wrong reading of all evidence – Sir Walter Scott got the best of his material from a North East lady, Mrs. Brown of Falkland. The late Prof. F. J. Child, in his *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, which is the accepted standard collection of its kind, noted that of his texts, the most important, 91 out of a grand total of 305 ballads came from the North East – in fact from Aberdeenshire. One in every three of his chief Scottish texts come from the same area.' See: www.abdn.ac.uk/elphinstone/kist/search/display.php?lwee37.dat

28 George MacDonald, *Works of Fancy and Imagination* Vol. IV (London: Strahan & Co., 1871), pp. 266–71.

29 Anita Moss, 'Children's Literature and the History of Ideas', *Children's Literature*, 9 (1981), 191–96 (p. 191). Lochhead notes 'Tam Lin', 'Thomas the Rhymer', 'Hogg's 'Kilmeny', and Scottish fairy tales as creative influences on MacDonald: Marion Lochhead, 'The Scottish Heritage', in *The Renaissance of Wonder in Children's Literature* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1977), pp. 36–48.

30 Lyle, 'Introduction', pp. 12, 9.

31 A major feature of MacDonald's body of work as a whole is snatches of song and ballad. This is no less the case in his children's fiction than in MacDonald's adult works. In both

The Princess and Curdie and in *The Princess and the Goblin*, women sing to the young protagonists, and beguile them with the fantastical, otherworldly beauty of their song. In *The Princess and Curdie*, the princess sings, and the narrator explains: 'her wheel spun an accompaniment to her song, and the music of the wheel was like the music of an Aeolian harp blown upon the wind that bloweth where it listeth. […] But for the voice that sang through it all, about that I have no words to tell. It would make you weep if I were able to tell you what that was like, it was so beautiful and true and lovely': George MacDonald, *The Princess and the Goblin; and The Princess and Curdie*, ed. with an introduction by Roderick McGillis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 216–17.

32 James Hogg, 'Kilmeny', in *The Queen's Wake: A Legendary Tale,* ed. Douglas S. Mack (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), pp. 288–98, ll. 1425, 1427.

33 George MacDonald, *At the Back of the North Wind* (Puffin Books: London, 1994), p. 96.

34 Hogg, 'Kilmeny', ll. 1412, 1416.

35 Ibid., ll. 1428–34.

36 Douglas Mack, 'Hogg's Kilmeny: An Interpretation', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 4 (1) (1965), 42–45. Colin Manlove, *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies*, p. 90.

37 Mack, 'Hogg's Kilmeny: An Interpretation', p. 43.

38 Lyle p. 134, stanza 20. James Hogg, 'Kilmeny', ll. 1395.

39 See Sarah M. Dunnigan, *The Scottish Ballads* (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2005), p. 21.

40 Hogg, 'Kilmeny', ll. 1496, 1494.

41 Gaarden, p. 40; Sheley, p. 335.

42 Lyle p. 132, stanza 3.

43 'Clark Colven': Lyle, p. 122, stanza 6.

44 Lyle, p. 132, stanza 2.

45 George MacDonald, *The Princess and the Goblin; and The Princess and Curdie*, pp. 124–25.

46 George MacDonald, quoted in Roderick McGillis' Introduction to *The Princess and Curdie*, p. xv.

47 Anja Gunderloch, 'The Heroic Ballads of Gaelic Scotland', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Traditional Literatures*, ed. Sarah Dunnigan and Suzanne Gilbert (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 82.

48 Lyle p. 257, stanza 1.

49 Sheley identifies the story's 'creation chronology' in 'From Eden to Eternity: The Timescales of Genesis in George MacDonald's "The Golden Key" and Lilith', p. 334. Marion Lochhead finds echoes of 'Celtic legend' in 'The Golden Key', noting *The Young King of Easaidh Ruadh* (from John Francis Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*), and *The Black Bull of Norroway* as influences on MacDonald. Lochhead, *The Renaissance of Wonder in Children's Literature*, pp. 40–43. Both Roderick McGillis and Colin Manlove note the influence of *The Pilgrim's Progress* on MacDonald, with McGillis noting that 'he inherits the tradition of Bunyan' and Manlove saying that *The Pilgrim's Progress* was a text of which MacDonald was 'passionately fond': McGillis, Introduction to *The Princess and Curdie*, p. xiv. Manlove, *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies*, p. 56.

50 Lizanne Henderson and Edward J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), p. 36.

18. 'A great, unlimited world'? Imaginative Locations in the Fairy Tales of Jessie Saxby and Violet Jacob

SARAH DUNNIGAN

Violet Jacob's first children's story collection, *The Golden Heart* (1904), is full of variations on the familiar fairy tale motif of the 'maiden in the tower' (ATU 310). In one tale, the incarcerated fairy tale heroine takes the form of two sisters, 'Princesses of Japan', who never leave the enclosure of their father's palace, except to 'watch from the walls to see the boats plying up and down, and the great cranes in the shallows fishing'.[1] The miniaturism of their lives is thus effectively conjured up by contrast with the spacious symbols of the 'unlimited world' perceived beyond their immediate realm. Time and again in Jacob's volume, place and space are narrative pinpoints which double up as imaginative charts of interiority. From that vantage point, this chapter explores what happens to the fairy tale mode in the hands of two women writers, Jacob from the northeast of Scotland, and Jessie Saxby from the Shetland isles, both writing on the cusp of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It uses the motif of cartography to suggest the particular paths which they navigated through fairy tale tropes and conventions and to identify the broader imaginative 'compass points', as it were, of their fictions. These, the chapter suggests, are evoked by literal and figurative embodiments of particular ideas of 'northernness', 'home', and 'elsewhere'. And, especially in Jacob's case, they also reside in the emotional and psychological spaces of these fictions which unlock a world of desire and longing.

Such locations also open up the ways in which their work inhabits another threshold – this time between what might be termed tradition and experimentalism. In all its potentially 'unlimited' diversity, the fairy tale arguably offers Saxby and Jacob a mode which is both restrictive, in aspects of its formulaic narrative and moral inheritance, and yet capacious in its embrace of the aesthetic and emotional possibilities which the genre also licenses.[2]

Neither Saxby nor Jacob's fairy tales for children are well-known, nor given much attention within their highly varied bodies of creative work. This is perhaps because it can be perceived as a threefold marginal genre: popular; for children; by women.[3] Neither writer, as far as I am aware, directly knew the other, though they have a shared inheritance in that they both came from privileged socio-cultural and political backgrounds, and had common interests in the imaginative and moral education of children.[4] Despite this, their work strikingly constitutes two different imaginative directions taken by the *fin-de-siècle* children's fairy tale in Scotland. In order to illustrate this divergence, this chapter focuses on one volume by each writer – Jacob's *The Golden Heart* and Saxby's *Snow Dreams, or Funny Fancies for Little Folks* – as a particular window onto their fantastical worlds.

Both books emerge in the wake of the traditionally conceived 'golden age' of British children's literature, famously populated by the imaginative worlds of Lewis Carroll, Charles Kingsley, and Christina Rossetti among others. They also implicitly belong to a lineage of late nineteenth-century Scottish 'fabulists' and 'fantasists' such as George MacDonald, R. L. Stevenson, and Andrew Lang, whose work also encompassed child readerships, though the demarcation between adult and child audiences for fantasy (frequently a subject of contention) was made deliberately fluid by writers such as MacDonald, and echoes through Jacob's writing in particular. The first incarnation of J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* appears in the same year as Jacob's collection. Prior to this particular flourishing, the fairy tale in Scotland, as it were, had made its way through deep-rooted oral traditions, popular chapbook heritage, and folktale collection and creation. Along the way it had drawn some censure from moralists (the perceived imaginative excesses of some chapbooks were considered as 'youth's poison', for instance) before MacDonald's pivotal essay, 'The Fantastic Imagination', re-conceived its artistic and spiritual capacities. Fairy tales famously courted the disapproval of educational moralists such as Sarah Trimmer because they corrupted cherished values of church and state and might make children believe in magic and 'superstition'. Women in particular were meant to be the guardians and nurturers of children, in literature as in life, so should shun putting 'dangerously' fantastical things into print.[5]

Significantly, however, in the earlier part of the century, a Scottish woman writer, Catherine Sinclair (discussed in Chapter 15), had given the fairy tale interesting imaginative lease. Her *Holiday House* briefly inserts a fairy tale world into the putatively realist, socially conservative fabric of Edinburgh domestic life. But it does so in a playful way for the ostensibly pleasing moral closure to the inset fairy tale from which Laura and Richard can learn is somewhat displaced by the story's comic energies. It works as a little piece of fairy tale history which combines the sensuality of the genre's French origins with the punitive ogres and witches of the moralised fairy tale tradition. The latter triumphs, of course, but in a curiously abrupt way whilst the unruly energies unleashed by the initial part of the fairy tale narrative persist through the novel's generosity towards its child protagonists' natural sharp energies and curiosity.

Sinclair is a fascinating fairy tale precedent for Saxby and Jacob but the particular imaginative maps drawn by Saxby and Jacob are also a consequence of their navigation of a long-inherited association between women and the fairy tale. Theirs is a female storytelling lineage already imbued with echoes of 'old wives' tales, 'Mother Goose', the *conteuses* of the seventeenth-century French court – in other words, the disparate, diverse influences which arise out of the bridge between oral and print cultures. This is further inflected with the female vocality strongly imprinted in Scottish oral tradition, and derived from the transmission of vernacular song, ballad, and storytelling. There are no explicit allusions to examples from Scottish tradition in their fairy tales[6] though, as we shall see, the idea of 'northernness' pervades Saxby's collection, while the archetypal orality of the feminine storytelling voice is often invoked. In *Snow Dreams*, for example, the fireside gives stories to the figure of 'Mammy' who, in turn, shares them with the children who are ostensibly the collection's 'inset' audience: 'She was sitting in her rocking-chair, warming her toes, and wishing the cobwebs could be cleared out of her head […] which prevented her from finding a story that had to be *made up*; but Horace only smiled and settled himself half on the hearthrug and half on the fender, and looked up for the story, so what could she do but try to find one!' (p. 25). In *The Golden Heart*, the storyteller figure is invisible but in another children's

collection published four years later, Jacob's storyteller is a grandmother who has bequeathed her stories, 'some out of a book and some out of her head!' (p. 6) to the miller who in turn tells them to the orphaned siblings, Peter and Janet. In this way, stories are consumed, retold, and reborn. Saxby and Jacob's collections, then, both implicitly and explicitly have a place within such traditions; but it is to some specific imaginative encounters with aspects both of fairy tale inheritance and its more contemporary artistic possibilities that this chapter now turns.

Jessie Saxby – nearer to home in the north

Snow Dreams, or, funny fancies for little folks appeared in 1882, '[d]edicated to The Bairns'.[7] It contains stories interspersed with poems, and with clear, line-drawn black and white illustrations which are unattributed – these embody the 'snow-dreams' (p. 20), the intertwined pictures, story, and rhymes, imagined by the volume's dual female storytellers, 'Auntie' as well as 'Mammy'.[8] The simplicity of the drawings are mirrored in the dominant narrative style which ranges from the cadences of ballad and nursery rhyme (as in 'Annie's Birthday') to paratactic, colloquial prose rhythms ('Then he saw a boy with a very funny face, dressed in a curly coat and curly knickbockers, and with very curly hair', p. 77). The narrative voice reaches out to the child audience (both inset and implied), gently cajoling and exhorting, sometimes interrupting to point to the little illustrations which become a crucial part of the story ('Here is the picture he made of one of his own steeds […]', p. 68). Deliberate archaism also seeps into several stories which, as suggested later, makes some of the pieces more of homiletic and fable-like: 'Yet he lingered, sweeping his fingers over his harp chords, until the snow-crystals vibrated with low-toned echoes. He lingered, for he too had a mission to earth' (p. 12).

The volume appeared at a point in Saxby's life when she was already established as a children's writer: *Geordie Roye; or, A waif from the Greyfriars Wynd* had appeared in 1879, and *Breakers Ahead: or, Uncle Jack's stories of great shipwrecks of recent times* was published in the same years as *Snow-Dreams*. *Daala-Mist; or Stories of Shetland,* an important collection from 1876 dedicated to her five sons, partly has the quality of a children's travelogue

to the Shetland islands, a little potted guide to its lore and landscape in the century that eminent folklorists such as Webbe Dasent (who himself visited Halligarth) had brought its culture to a new Victorian readership. She was well on the way to becoming, as Mark Smith points out, Shetland's most prolific and commercially successful writer though, for various reasons both politically and aesthetically, she has not been readily absorbed or acknowledged as part of Shetland literary tradition.[9] By this time, she had left Unst, where she was born in 1842 at Halligarth. Saxby had grown up in a highly literary and intellectual family: her father, Laurence, a doctor, published articles on natural history and ornithology; her mother, Eliza, had written *Sketches and Tales of the Shetland Islands* in 1856; whilst at the age of twenty, a year before his premature death, her older brother wrote the *Flora of Shetland*. Saxby's own writing life began with a volume of poetry, imaginatively rooted in the islands, *Lichens from the Old Rock,* in 1868; this was an eclectic collection which included ballad-style narratives and poetry about changelings, birds of omen, 'the maidens and children of ancient Denmark', Vikings and mermaids, the Aurora Borealis, and a rare shell discovered in the Shetlands. A large part of her children's writing, however, took place in Edinburgh where she had relocated with her five sons after the tragic early death of her husband, the Englishman Henry Linckmyer Saxby, at the age of thirty-seven. Jessie Saxby would become especially prolific in the genre of boys' adventure stories, publishing in *The Boys' Own Paper*, which first appeared in 1879 at the behest of the Religious Tract Society. She made the mode her own by distinctively combining the ethos of empire and colonialism with the romance of a Shetlandic or Viking setting. In that sense, her late Victorian 'Scandinavianism'[10] incorporates the Shetland isles into a 'golden age' of British imperialism. These are stories in which a distinctly northern, archipelagic cartography of seascapes and landscapes holds a perilous escapism for their boy adventurers; but one which ultimately nurtures a heroism, masculinity, resilience fitted for the future 'heroism' of empire and exploit.

Though *Snow-Dreams* presents an entirely different imaginative world to her boys' fiction (and one for younger children), it still reflects the strain of moral conservatism which informs her vision of young masculinity.

Much more obviously than in Jacob's work, as we shall see, it accommodates the moralism and evangelical piety which had become part of Victorian fairy tale tradition. One story in particular crystallises this impulse. In it, Little Red Riding Hood goes north; in fact, she becomes a Highland girl (though not a Gaelic speaker), called 'Little Maid Mary', forced to set out on a solitary journey: 'So this little maid Mary went on in the dark ALONE – very much afraid of what might happen […] the fear rose out of the imagination which belongs to Highland blood or atmosphere. And little maid Mary was walking, you will please remember, through wild Highland paths, with mysterious woods not far off, and hills and moorland where *anything* might happen!' (p. 90). She is both Gothic heroine and fragile little girl lost in a landscape of Romantic Celticism – but, mindful of her fairy tale progenitor's fate, she is not tempted to linger in the 'moonshine' (p. 91) and render herself vulnerable to any lurking predatory creatures and 'robbers'. Saxby's Little Red, however, will *always* be safe; the narrator notes earlier on that had 'the little Maid […] read about Una and the Lion […] she would have known how youth and innocence are kept from harm' (p. 90). At her side in the forest appears her 'guardian angel, whose white wings were spread wide and low above little Maid Mary's fair hair' (p. 91), whispering '"Don't you remember, my pet, that God is over all?"' (p. 92). This is, therefore, a spiritualised Red Riding Hood. Though the wolf never actually appears she has no need of the second chance with which the Grimms reward their Little Red but her tale nevertheless echoes the evangelical pietism which imbues their famous *Household Tales* and enshrines the allegory of female purity as in the tale's classical versions.

Moralism is the hallmark of Saxby's fairy tales. These stories about giants and flower-fairies and witch-cats are essentially little homilies or fables; indeed, even parabolic, as in the seventh story, 'Sparrows', with its prefatory epigraph from Luke xii: 6–7. 'The North Wind and the Snow' [the first story] declares that it harbours 'the mystery of good and evil' (p. 12); 'Tommy Kitten', '[o]ur good, good boy!' becomes an exemplar for 'other little boys to live the life which is well-pleasing in their Maker's sight' (p. 74). If the prominence of the North Wind as a protagonist alludes to George MacDonald's more famous 1871 story, *At the Back of the North Wind*, then

Saxby's figure is far less melancholic and gentle and more punitive, stealing a little girl's 'rosy cheeks' in order that 'children must always be good': 'the child became rather frightened, and shivered all through […] sure enough all the red roses had gone' (pp. 43, 42). 'A Queer Hive' is a far less transparent tale, at least in its surface narrative, which is tinged with elements of the surreal and the bizarre and brings to mind the teeming otherworlds of Victorian fairy painting: colonies of fairies, bees, moths, and other insects, all living in one hive governed by the 'King of the Hiveites' (p. 30) and his 'chief counsellor the Grave Man' (p. 39), mount a rebellion. It therefore seems a fable about the necessity of social co-operation in the pursuit of justice and order and, at that point therefore, in the mould of the politically inflected late Victorian fairy tale. Yet, when 'Horace' tells 'Mamma' that 'the Hive was my head, and the Tribes were my Thoughts' in need of 'Conscience' (p. 40), it appears that this has also been conceived as a little allegory of a child's mind and imagination in need of order and discipline. Infected by a particular kind of pietistic sentimentalism, the illustrations for her work portray the image of a Romantic child: pure, innocent, and cherubic. In the story, 'Out in the Snow', the child warmly ensconced in bed looks outside to see children '[w]ho have no home' (p. 65), accompanied by the image of a rather plump, pre-Raphaelite-looking child. In that sense, then, Saxby's imaginative world might be said to be narrow and circumscribed, 'limited' by the strictures of class, piety, and sentimentalism.

There are, however, some suggestive counterpoints to, and variations on, this sense of enclosure and conformity. For a start, the energetic and partly comic story, 'The Giant's Pie', is self-consciously aware of playing with the conventions of fairy tale moralism:

> "Tell us a real giant story, Mammy," said Horace.
> "And don't let it be a story that can be *explained*," added Tom.
> "But don't let it have a moral at the end," remarked Stephen.
> "It mustn't end sadly," pleaded Charlie. (p. 45)

These stories also espouse the desire to come 'closer to home' in a way which constitutes a purposefully interlinked aesthetic and emotional strategy.

Firstly, these are stories which communicate a sense of closeness and nurture. In 'The Giant's Pie', the children, about to be devoured by said giant and his wife, are rescued by their mother – not by magic or their own agency [*à la* Hansel and Gretel] but in a reversal of the traditionally cruel fairy tale mother motif: 'She easily found her way up the hill to the Giant's house' where she swiftly dupes the giant and his wife by means of a story: '"Oh, you should go and look. […] They are to have moon for a wedding-cake' (p. 49). Once again this stresses the primacy of female narration – Saxby's storytellers, although didactic, present their tales as spaces of imaginative refuge, security, and reassurance. The volume is obviously preoccupied with portraying the importance of maternal bonds, and therefore with a particular construct of redemptive femininity. But interestingly, and like so much of her other work, this is also in part a 'book for boys' – one in which 'masculinity' is not something to remain unquestioned or unchallenged. 'Tommy Kitten' is a nervous young child, afraid of the dark and of 'a bear […] under the bed – as if bears went about Scotland like bairns' (p. 70). But his sensitivity is not to be stamped out completely; rather, he learns that 'all really brave noble-minded men and boys' are 'tender-hearted', able to play with dolls without being rebuked as a 'softie' (p. 72), suggesting that gendered identities in the world of children's play might be unmoored from culturally constructed associations. Evocatively, too, in the final story, the comfort and consolation of storytelling is 'masculinised', shared between an 'Old Man and a Wee Boy', thereby demonstrating a way in which male 'tender-heartedness' might be attained.

Saxby's stories are also 'nearer to home', or 'homely', in being located close to 'the north', to Shetland even. As is obvious, this is deliberately conceived as a northern, wintry book in terms of its imaginative premise and setting. Inevitably, late nineteenth-century fairy tale wintriness evokes the ice-bound kingdoms of Hans Christian Andersen; but these are also stories which belong to Christmas time and 'Yule morning' (p. 102), attentive to ritual and 'old custom' (p. 103), and therefore implicitly connected to Shetland. Snow falls from the opening story where the 'wild' North Wind and the 'gentle' Snow (p. 10) get married in 'the far, far North' (p. 11); the children in the story of the 'Snow Caves' build icy kingdoms of their own

(for a time, before the snow melts, and they grow up). 'Northernness' is also found in the more distinctly and locally folkloric strand and influence of these stories. In 'The Giant's Pie', which borrows motifs from the 'Jack the Giant-Killer' tale, the giant's wife is the 'Guy-kerl' (p. 47), alluding to the 'Gyre-Carling' (*carling* meaning 'old woman', from the Norse *kerling*) of traditional belief, a huge, demonic old woman inspiring fear in the manner of the Russian child-eating Baba-yaga: 'Then she opened the Giant's sack, and, taking out all the boys one by one, she laid them in the dish in layers, like herrings in a barrel, and she sprinkled pepper and salt plentifully among them before putting the crust, with a *tappatooree*, on the top' (p. 47). In a gentler context, the tale of a lonely young sea-bird uses the Orcadian and Shetlandic term for a young gull, 'Scorie'.[11] Later, of course, Saxby would return to Unst where she would seek to record traditional Shetland lore and culture.

The idea of 'home', and 'homeliness', is therefore not immediately a restrictive or enclosing one in a book which is resolutely conventional in many other ways. Its 'wintriness' places it at the heart of fairy tale tradition whilst delicate, unobtrusive allusions relocate that to a distinctly northern, archipelagic space. Despite the 'Guy-kerl' figure and her alarming culinary nurturing, the volume delineates distinctly feminine spaces, embodied in the maternal hearth. In many senses, Saxby presents a world to her child-readers resolutely shored up against any intrusions of fear and vulnerability. At the same time, fragility inheres within it from the start, in keeping with its post-Romantic ethos of childhood. These are evanescent snow-worlds, expressive of mortality, like 'the wee red rose of all the world' who returns to 'the Grave, God's lap' (p. 23), and ultimately illusory, however beautiful.

> And the story-teller sighed. "Was it a dream? did it never happen? and were they only dream-children too?" the little listeners asked.
>
> "Ah no! they were real enough."
>
> "Then what became of them all? they could not vanish with the snow."
>
> The story-teller did not seem to hear that last question or remark, for her eyes were reading the fire, and the smile had left her lips.

In one sense, it is appropriate that the story world should close with the children's voices but it also shifts Saxby's fiction into a more elegiac Barrie-esque realm of disappearing childhood where, for a moment, ideas of maturation and death become entwined.

The 'otherness' of Violet Jacob's otherworlds

The archipelagic northernness which defines Saxby's fiction is largely missing from Jacob's *The Golden Heart*. The north wind acts as a mournful marker in the tale of 'The Dovecote' where the witch is left alone, marooned in 'a wide stretch of pasture, in the middle of a lonely field, with its back to the bleak north blast which swept over the shuddering grasses' (p. 102). The North Sea is one of a few geographically 'real' locations: in the opening story, it serves as an expanse of dream-like wonder which only emphasises a young boy's solitude before he drifts into the space of fairy tale romance. And in the closing tale of 'Jack Frost' (significantly intended for 'very little children', and the narrative closest in style and tone to Saxby's collection), wintriness is spread by the mischievous sprite observed only by the little boy whose nurse chides him for seeing imaginary things in the garden. Significantly, then, where Saxby's fairy tale fictions fasten on the idea of 'home', and the evocation of a safe and 'bounded' child's realm, Jacob's collection moves out into the wider world, seeking 'otherness'. This impulse is key to her work and, this chapter suggests, is crystallised in three different ways: in the cultural locations of her fairy tales, which draw on a well-established but problematic trope of 'exoticism'; in the significant role played by visual image in the volume which, this chapter suggests, binds it to the fairy tale aesthetics of contemporary Scottish women artists; and, lastly, in the emotional and psychological dimensions of its stories which, in their portrayal of pain and unhappiness, strike a kinship with the writing of Andersen and Barrie.

Two of Jacob's tales have non-European settings: 'The Pelican' is set in Egypt; 'The Sorcerer's Sons' in Japan. In both these stories, the geographical context is realised with a particularity and detail which differs from the more 'eternalised' fairy tale landscapes of other tales. Jacob's painterly prose eye (discussed in more detail below) finds pleasure in evoking the apparent

exotic 'otherness' of both worlds, urging sensory and sensual appreciation of their 'wonder'. This results in a fairy tale-encased 'commodified exoticism', seeking to appeal to a middle-class British and American readership: 'In the land of Egypt, where the Nile runs and the palm-trees grow and the great Sphynx sits alone in the Desert, there lived a young man who kept a jeweller's shop in a crowded street. He was tall and grave, and he wore a yellow kaftan which clothed him from head to heel' (p. 127). The young girl with whom he falls in love becomes the focus of the narrative's aesthetic and cultural gaze: 'she had long, dark eyes, and the plait of her hair hung down behind her, below the edge of her veil. With one hand she drew the black folds over her mouth' (p. 129). Violet's protagonist – in her combination of sensuality ('her mouth scarlet like the canna-flowers over her head', pp. 134–35), repression, and subjugation (the victim of her father's violence) – typifies the representation of the 'Eastern' woman long (mis)imagined in European and British art and literature. The politics of Jacob's story, then, are shifting and problematic. The reader is moved to sympathy for the girl and abhors her treatment at the hands of her father (and subsequently by the young man's mother). At the same time, a point of racial and political inequity (the casual allusion to a 'cunning' slave) is enfolded into the lyrical archaism of the narrative style and rhythm ('When she walked, her passing was as the wind in the lebbak-tree', p. 139).

Such 'otherness' may reflect a specific historical and political moment in Jacob's own life. At the age of thirty-one, she married Arthur Otway Jacob, a serving officer in the British army; she and her young son Harry went with him when he was stationed with his regiment in India (1895–1900), South Africa (1901–02), and Egypt (1903–04) during what was clearly a formative period of her writing life.[12] Implicitly, she played a part within the larger project of British colonialism in India and Egypt. But it also held a mirror to the history of fairy tale politics too. In the story of the Western European fairy tale, magical 'otherness' was famously enshrined in the translation of an Arabic manuscript, 'The Voyages of Sindbad', into French by the writer, Antoine Galland (1646–1715), which led to the collection of magical stories now known as *The Thousand and One Nights*. Particular representations and ideas of 'oriental' wonder and exoticism were stealthily

imported into the French fairy tale tradition, and the volume's rapid translation into other European languages thereafter ensured that these stories, derived from medieval Arabic and ancient Persian and Indian traditions, 'assumed a special status as a work which simultaneously evoked the exotic and the ornamental and which served as a remembrance of the joys of childhood reading'.[13] Such influences are renewed in the nineteenth century, when illustrated editions of *The Thousand and One Nights* fulfil a popular appetite for fantasy's cultural otherworlds. The association between cultural 'exoticism' and the fairy tale is also richly exemplified in the work of Oscar Wilde whose elaborate story, 'The Fisherman and his Soul', show the *fin-de-siècle* imprint of the fascination for ideas of beauty, sensuality, and decadence within Western artistic visions of the Orient.[14] Whilst Jacob's Egyptian tale does not really approach the fervid intensity of Wilde's, it nonetheless intrudes aspects of this particular ideological mode into the imaginative landscape of these particular tales.

The aesthetic 'otherness' of Jacob's storyworlds is also intensified by the illustrations for the volume provided by the artist May Sandheim. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, fairy tale publications – from individual stories to entire volumes, and for a range of young readerships – were increasingly accompanied by images which varied in quality and intensity according to the artist commissioned and the design technology available. Word and image are therefore deeply entwined in fairy tale book history. There appears to be little detailed biographical information about Sandheim herself, though she is credited as the illustrator of other books; for example, Charles Kingsley's *The Water Babies*; an edition of the *Selected Poems of Christina Rossetti* which was published by Andrew Melrose, and another Rossetti work, *The Prince's Progress,* which clearly shows the influences of neo-medievalism and Pre-Raphaelitism; and a volume called *The Nursery Songbook. Traditional Nursery Songs*. Little information can be gleaned about the relationship between Jacob and Sandheim (did Jacob, for example, commission the images herself, or did the publisher, Doubleday?), though interestingly Jacob herself was also an illustrator and watercolourist.[15] However, as the daughter of Isaac Sandheim and Annie Woodburn, May belongs to the Sandheim family who founded a jewellery company,

the Sandheim Brothers, in Notting Hill in 1875; a daughter of one of its co-founders, Julius Wolfe Sandheim (May Sandheim's uncle) is the much better-known Arts and Crafts and Art Deco jewellery designer, Amy Sandheim.[16] Her immediate familial environment was therefore one intimately enmeshed in contemporary art and design and, as suggested below, an Arts and Crafts aesthetic can be discerned in her work.

There are sixteen black and white pen illustrations within the text whilst the book cover, in both the 1904 and 1905 editions, is an image in vivid colour from the tale of Grimaçon against a duck-egg blue background: in it, the princess's attendant, Grimaçon, picks up the long, sinuous 'S' shape of her miraculous hair which curves as much as the forest's trees arch thinly upwards and the road winds back to the castle with its similarly sharp, elongated structure. In the foreground, purple anemone-like flowers proliferate out of water, as if lily-pond flowers, echoed in the 'frame' within which the image is set. This presents the illusion of a wooden frame within which botanical and heart-shaped motifs are 'carved'. This 'framing' device is echoed in all the in-text illustrations where an 'epigraph' (a quotation or title from the appropriate story) borders the image, as if a 'scroll-like' or unfurled banner or even, as in 'The Sorcerer's Sons', a theatrical tableau. The 'medievalesque' aesthetic which characterises Sandheim's work for Rossetti is apparent, especially so in the 'deadly combat' scene from 'Grimaçon' which illustrates the moment when the valiant knightly king kills the cruel enchanter; here, the latter's dress is appropriately 'scaly' or reptilian, given that he had transformed 'upwards of a thousand beautiful youths and maidens' (p. 96) into crocodiles. The preceding image of the 'Grimaçon' tale juxtaposes the neomedieval, courtly delicacy of the princess Moonflower, wearing 'a dress of mauve velvet embroidered with bunches of amaryllis in pearls and diamonds […] her long hair fell in showers upon the ground' (p. 70), with the rotund grotesquerie of the aunt who is furious at Moonflower's refusal to marry the odious Prince Blackwig (she echoes the demeanour and dress of the Queen of Hearts in John Tenniel's famous illustrations of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* in 1865).

All of Sandheim's images are worked in exquisitely fine detail, from the tiny elongated sharpness of Jack Frost's beard (facing, p. 164) to the

minute folds and patterns of clothing, the gnarled swirls of the tree-trunk at the top of which lives the witch Mother Grindle ('The Peacock's Tail', facing p. 122), and the slender hollyhocks in the Princess's garden ('The Golden Heart', facing, p. 42). In these respects, they speak to the desires of both child and adult readerships in being both comfortably familiar yet 'unworldly', highly stylised and beautiful. A visual constant throughout Sandheim's illustrations is the use of organic, natural imagery: trees, flowers, leaves, and water form shapes and 'tracery' which centrally define each image. In this aspect, Sandheim's work most evokes is the sinuous and stylised patterning of Art Nouveau, and in particular with the abstract, interlaced organic forms created by artists associated with the '"Scoto-Continental" Art Nouveau'[17] movement which spanned the period c. 1880s–c. 1920s. As Jude Burkhauser observes, their fascination with 'exotic symbols such as lilies, birds, peacocks'[18] reflected the inspiration of the Symbolist Aesthetic which shaped the literary as well as visual arts in Europe at the *fin-de-siècle*. Both in its visual and verbal aspects, 'The Sorcerer's Sons' may also reflect Art Nouveau's fashionable 'Japonisme', and translations of Japanese fairy tales were also increasingly popular in the early 1900s.

The integral ways in which Sandheim's images enrich the book also locate it within a broader artistic culture of Scottish female creativity in fairy tale visual arts of the time. The best-known women artists are arguably Margaret and Frances MacDonald and Jessie M. King, who were largely trained at the Glasgow School of Art under the tutelage of Francis H. (Fra) Newbery. Together with his wife, Jessie, who also 'played a key role in the development of the Glasgow Style' and was herself a teacher of design, Newbery fostered a radical artistic and educational ethos at the Glasgow School of Art; women were given new opportunities, free to experiment with new directions in expressive modes through the School's enlightened fusion of 'fine and applied arts'.[19] Fairy tale and fantastical subjects were frequently the subject of these artists' work – for example, Margaret MacDonald's 'The Youngest Princess' and 'The Dead Princess', c. 1909 – but also because many of these artists were involved in book illustration at a time when fairy tale and fantasy literature were popular in the 'gift-book'

market (they also used fairy tale motifs in a variety of other media such as textile hangings and ceramics). King was a prolific designer and illustrator from 1899 onwards whose 'special affinity for children was demonstrated in more than seventy books and in her fantastic watercolours and drawings'; interestingly, she too illustrated Pre-Raphaelite poetry, medieval and neo-medieval literature, traditional ballads and nursery rhymes, and fairy tales (including Andersen's *The Little Mermaid*).[20] Although there is no record of Sandheim having trained at the Glasgow School of Art, it is with her early- to mid-style – ethereal, delicate, mystical – and with the work of Annie French (1872–1965) that Sandheim's art is perhaps most comparable. French, too, was particularly influenced by the shape and iconography of pre-Raphaelite female por-traiture, and by Japonisme.[21] Sandheim's female figures, in the Rossetti and Jacob volumes, are beautiful – delicate but figured by a kind of solidity, a 'heaviness' or 'strength' which heightens the paradox of fragile materiality running throughout – but they are more often troubled than simply serene. In the illustration to the fight with the sorcerer in 'Grimaçon', Moonflower is distressed (not unusually so for a princess, given the context) but Sandheim has drawn her shape and gesture in a way which contains a glimmer of the hollowly elongated female forms of the MacDonald sisters. On the borderland of Sandheim's images, then, are the intimations of female desire and longing which traverse the fairy tale canvases of her better-known contemporaries.

Sandheim's illustrations also work hand-in-hand with the strikingly visual and imagistic nature of Jacob's prose to intensify the alterity of her storyworlds (appropriately so for a writer who was herself an accomplished artist and illustrator as well). This is particularly the case in the tightly knit, 'cohesive' style of 'The Golden Heart'.

> "Now", said the fish, "I will show you one of the strangest things in the world. Can you see anything between us and the horizon?"
>
> "I see a dark spot a long way off."
>
> The light was growing brighter every moment, and pale streaks in the sky began to kindle the sea when the fish and his companion drew near the object of which they had been speaking. In the midst

> of the heaving water there rose a steep rock; on its grim side grew neither sea-weed nor anything to give sign of life. There was an oppressive silence hanging over everything, and the water lay dark and still; no little wave played against the relentless stone. On the top of this rock a beautiful woman sat with her hands clasped together. She wore a black robe against which her arms shone like ivory, and her hair flowed in a shower over her shoulders […] (p. 4)

Jacob's portrait of the enchanted princess – here framed, marmoreal-like, in a prayer-like posture – evokes the watery melancholia that suffuses Andersen's famous 'The Little Mermaid':

> She was an odd child, quiet and pensive. While the other sisters adorned their gardens with the most wondrous things they had gathered from sunken ships, the only thing she wanted, other than the scarlet flowers that looked like the sun above, was a beautiful marble statue. It was a lovely boy carved from clear, white stone, which had come to the sea floor with a shipwreck. Next to the statue she planted a crimson weeping willow that grew so gloriously, draping its fresh boughs over the statue and down to the blue sandy bottom, casting a violet shadow that was in constant movement, like the boughs. It looked as if the treetop and the roots were pretending to kiss.[22]

The visual parallels with Andersen's tale are sustained in other ways too. Here is the hypnotic, quasi-surreal, dream-like imagery of the sea-witch's cave in Jacob's tale:

> First he thought that they must be great ropes of sea-weed, then human forms; grinning faces seemed to start from them at every side, and yet he could never really make out that they were the forms of either men or beasts, for, as each thing appeared to take some definite shape, it would speedily turn into something else, like the wild and fleeting images in a dream' (p. 20).

Andersen's witch inhabits an underwater

> house in the midst of a peculiar forest. All the trees and shrubs were polyps, half animal and half plant. They looked like hundred-headed snakes growing out of the ground. […] Humans who had perished at sea and sunk into the deep peered out, as white bones, from the arms of the polyps (Andersen, trans. Nunnally, p. 78).

Andersen's characteristic fusion of beauty and grotesqueness in the details of his otherworld landscapes is often seemingly picked up by Jacob in hers – a rock is sculpted like 'a fish's head' whilst

> a great star which stood in silver radiance over the summit threw a long steel-blue reflection trailing across the silent water. Down the face of the rock, and all round on a tangle of low bushes which closed him in on every side, hung thick wreaths of white convolvulus; strange lights flashed in and out among the heavy foliage, and from the blossoms rolled drops of scented dew like the tears of an enchantress' (p. 23).

Jacob contributed a preface to the reprinted edition of Mary Howitt's translation of Andersen's *The True Story of My Life* in which she registers both an admiration for his fairy tales ('[i]t is by his fairy tales alone that he lives') and a frustration with his 'overwhelming share of what was then called "sensibility"'.[23] Despite this brusque observation, it is ironically through the undercurrents of poignancy which ripple through the titular story of 'The Golden Heart', and several other tales, that Andersen's influence can be sensed. Mostly, they are 'resolved', gathered up into the finite closure of the storyworld (this happens far less often in Wilde and Andersen's tragic fairy tales). But they instill resonances in Jacob's collection which make it singular within Scottish children's writing of the period; in opening up a space for portraying the experience of emotional pain and loss, Jacob's volume acquires another layer of alterity. In 'The Dovecote', for example, Maddie Norey, the kind witch, offers shelter to the king and queen who

have fled from the civil wars of their country. When the king needs to leave and defend his besieged land, he asks: '"Maddy Norey," said the young man, "promise me that you will care for the Queen." "I will," answered the old woman, holding out her wrinkled hand. "But be advised, O King, and spare her the parting, for it may be a long parting, and even I do not know the end of it."' (p. 110). But the queen begins to resist her confinement, however generously meant, through sheer loneliness and longing. Although Maddie cannot break her pledge to keep her safe, she grants her some respite through magicking her into a young white pigeon which 'looked at the cornfield sloping away northward, and at the green clump of elms standing rich and heavy in the still heat, then spread out her new-found pinions and sailed away towards them.' (p. 114). This shape-shifting nearly causes her death (when she is shot down near the king's encampment; and Maddie's healing powers restore the bird-queen to health. Yet the recuperative impulses of the ending are made poignant by Maddie's refusal to accompany them home: '"No," said the witch, "it is impossible. I have lived in this room for such countless years that I can never leave it now. When you have gone no one will ever find the little door again."' (p. 120). Maddie is left alone in her dovecote, in that same 'wide stretch of pasture […] with its back to the bleak north blast' (p. 102).

In 'The Golden Heart', a clear romance narrative presents an arc of suffering, sacrifice, and redemption. As befits the characteristically imagistic thread of the story, the golden heart is a constant emblem – first clasped by the princess, then 'gifted' to the prince but transferring inevitable 'trouble and pain'. As if a magical version of the devotional 'sacred heart', it also stands for absolute sacrifice: the prince vows 'remember that there is nothing I will not do for your sake; whatever this thing tells me to do, that will I do; wherever it tells me to go, there will I go; and, as long as there is life in me, I will not rest until I have accomplished my end' (p. 9). Indeed, the prince's ultimate task and journey is a penitential one carried out in the name of love and which leads to his own transfiguration, both in body and his 'own great soul' (p. 28). By the end, the emblem of the heart has grown in resonance to incorporate his beloved too (when he returns to 'the border of the kingdom where his heart lay', p. 29), as well as the selfless love shown by the sick

stranger in need of the restorative plant ('I have a wife whose whole heart is bound up in mine, and little children', p. 25).

As so many fairy tales do, this story hinges on tropes of metamorphosis and, like the 'beastly bridegroom' tale cycle to which it is obviously related, the apotheosis of the 'monster' (p. 40) lover into one who is humanly 'handsome' takes place. But a transformation, or transfiguration, also occurs in the princess's own moral and emotional vision. By the time the 'Ugly Prince' returns she realises that love, in itself considered beautiful, does not need to find embodiment in conventionally beautiful form. On the verge of subverting the rule of classical fairy tales that physical beauty is indeed the sign of virtue, and vice versa, the tale still ends with her self-abasing gratitude for his newly revealed, perfect form: 'She glanced up at him and stood transfixed, for never in her whole life had she seen any one who looked as he looked.' (p. 44). The experience of pain has made *her* beautiful in figurative and moral senses but the story's narrative arc has returned to a familiar and safe moral fold.

The young boy whom we meet in the tale's beginning is not as central a protagonist as either the prince and princess. Yet he too is absorbed into a characteristic fairy tale process of maturation which sees him 'opened up' to experiencing new worlds of sadness and pain – in his sympathy for the prince, and the tenderness he retains for him throughout ('"I don't believe you were ever ugly. There is no one in the world like you"', p. 42). The child-protagonist is a figure with redemptive agency. The prince himself has also given him a quasi-paternal, fatherly love, for the boy abandoned his own father when he agreed to ride 'tailback' with the magical fish ('His father had told him to be still and go to sleep […] he began to wonder […] whether the little fishes among the shells and seaweeds were ever told by their fish-fathers to go to sleep …', p. 1). In that sense, the boy is given emotional compensation for that act of filial desertion. Although, as this chapter has suggested, Jacob's book differs from Saxby's in its aesthetic and imaginative shape, it too ultimately celebrates the 'homeliness' of the bonds of love. It also shares with Saxby a Romanticism in its perception of the state of childhood. Having given up the redemptive plant to the other sick young man, the prince 'for the first time since his boyhood [the prince]

burst into tears and sobbed like a little child' (p. 27). Part of the cathartic process, then, is a return to a vestigial state of child-like innocence and vulnerability. There is also an echo of the homosocial 'tender-heartedness' to which Saxby's writing makes appeal.

*

This chapter's starting point asked what room existed within the 'great, unlimited world' of fairy tale traditions for Saxby and Jacob to navigate their own imaginative journeys. On the evidence of these two collections, then (though it should be remembered that their children's writing is both extensive and diverse), their fairy tale worlds have limited yet distinctive singularities. Saxby's stories frame notions of 'home' and 'homeliness' as idealised realms of childhood, enclosing and consoling, yet suggesting pinpoint of resistance to normalised conformity in its seeming advocacy of a more emotionally expressive young masculinity; in the primacy of feminine narrative; and in its northern folkloric sphere. Jacob's stories perpetuates the ideological language of the 'orientalised' European fairy tale tradition, their cultural politics further translated through the culture (and arguably her own lived experience) of late Victorian British imperialism. At the same time, there are pathways to transgression in this volume. These can be located in the visual dimensions of the book which seemingly allude to an innovative, and distinctly Scottish, female Art Nouveau aesthetic that itself grows out of a deliberate assertion of the labyrinthine, unconscious realms of feminine desire, quintessentially embodied in fairy tale narrative and image. And the melancholia of Jacob's stories bears the imprint of the much more familiar fairy tale elegists, Andersen and Barrie, though this is by no means to suggest that this is a masculinised trait or that Andersen and Barrie are the only possible points of comparison in this respect. And mostly, at the end of Jacob's stories, bonds of love tie together in the end. In demarcating the capacious limits of Saxby and Jacob's volumes, this chapter has sought to suggest some of the reasons why fairy tales for children written by women in this period need not 'vanish', to use Saxby's closing metaphor, but should re-emerge for us in all their richness.

Notes

1 All references to Jacob's text are taken from the edition of *The Golden Heart*, edited by Sarah Dunnigan (Kennedy and Boyd, 2011), which is itself based on the first 1904 printing. Subsequent references appear parenthetically in the body of the chapter. In part, this chapter builds on aspects of my 'Introduction' to that volume, and on a blogpost on 'Jessie Saxby (1842–1940): Shetland's First Children's Writer', edin.ac/selcie, 10 March 2017.

2 The precise definition of 'fairy tale' is notoriously thorny but, for arguably the most lucid, and beautiful, account of the genre, see Marina Warner's *Once Upon a Time: A Short History of Fairy Tale* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

3 On Jacob's life, see Carol Anderson, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* and her 'Introduction' to *Violet Jacob: Diaries and Letters from India, 1895–1900* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1990), pp. 1–2. See also Katharine H. Gordon (ed.), *Voices from their Ain Countrie: the Poems of Marion Angus and Violet Jacob* (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2006). On Saxby's life, see Brian R. Smith, 'Jessie Margaret Edmonston Saxby', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography;* and Mark Ryan Smith, *The Literature of Shetland* (Shetland Times Limited, 2014).

4 Jacob published *The Infant Moralist* with Lady Helena Carnegie (1865–1943), in 1903 (reprinted in 1926), and *The Good Child's Year Book* in 1928, a collection of monthly rhymes which she wrote and illustrated.

5 There is a fairly extensive critical literature on women writers and the literary genre of fairy tale in British, North American, and European contexts; see, as a small exemplary selection, for example, Marina Warner's classic study, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and their Tellers;* Jeannine Blackwell, 'Fractured Fairy Tales: German Women Authors and the Grimm Tradition', in *Germanic Review,* 62 (1987): 162–74; Elizabeth Wanning Harries, *Twice upon a Time: Women Writers and the History of the Fairy Tale* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Susan Sellers, *Myth and Fairy Tale in Contemporary Women's Fiction* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). In the Scottish context see, for example, Monica Germanà, *Scottish Women's Gothic and Fantastic Writing: Fiction Since 1978* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

6 This can be considered in contrast, for example, to the deliberate ballad evocations of Thomas the Rhymer in Dinah Mulock Craik, for example; see further Linda C. Middup's chapter in this volume.

7 Presumably, this is a reference to her own children; she had five sons, and a daughter who died in infancy. The following rather curiously blunt appears below: '"Ye are better than all the ballads / That ever were sung or said,/For ye are living poems, / And all the rest are dead"'. All references are to the 1882 edition, and subsequently appear within the body of the chapter.

8 The interleaved 'snow-pictures' and 'snow-rhymes' belong specifically to the fourth chapter but the visual and verbal correlation underpins this deliberately 'wintry' collection as a whole.

9 Mark Ryan Smith explores Saxby's uneasy relationship to the 'canonical' body of Shetlandic literature in his book.

10 On this subject, see Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000). See also

Sarah Dunnigan, 'Jessie Saxby (1842–1940) – Shetland's First Children's Writer', *SELCIE*, edin.blogs.hss.ed.ac.uk

11 As defined in *DOST*, the term 'Scorie' refers to the 'young of any species of gull while still in its brown-speckled plumage' and, as observed in *Chambers's Journal,* 'Most of the gull tribes, for example, are indiscriminately of mottled gray in their first year, and are called vernacularly by one name – *scorie*.' (*DOST*).

12 She recorded her experiences and impressions of their time in Mhow in India in a series of diaries and memoirs, dedicated to her mother; see Anderson's Canongate edition.

13 Robert Irwin, *Visions of the Jinn: Illustrators of the Arabian Nights* (The Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 27. On the cultural contexts of the *Arabian Nights* see, for example, Saree Makdisi and Felicity Nussbaum (eds), *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context Between East and West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Marina Warner, *Stranger Magic. Charmed States and the Arabian Nights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

14 See Oscar Wilde, *Complete Shorter Fiction,* edited by Isobel Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 203–36.

15 On Jacob as artist, see Anderson, pp. 4–5, and the illustrations reproduced therein. She notes that 'Jacob especially loved to paint flowers, and studied botany with real determination' (p. 5), and she therefore might have been particularly sympathetic to the botanical particularity and beauty of Sandheim's images for her volume. Jacob's own flower and plant illustrations are in the possession of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Edinburgh.

16 This information was gleaned from the genealogical and biographical website, 'The MAN & Other families', www.manfamily.org, accessed 14 June 2018.

17 Jude Burkhauser, 'The Visible Woman Vanishes!', in *Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design 1880–1920,* edited by Jude Burkhauser (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1993), p. 63.

18 Burkhauser, 'The Glasgow Style', in Burkhauser ed., p. 100.

19 Burkhauser, 'The Visible Woman Vanishes!', p. 65. On these women artists, see also *Doves and Dreams: The Art of Frances Macdonald and James Herbert McNair,* edited by Pamela Robertson (Hampshire: Lund Humphries, 2006); Elizabeth Cumming, *Hand, Heart and Soul: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006); Liz Arthur, *Glasgow Girls: Artists and Designers 1890–1930* (Dumfries: Kirkcudbright, 2010). Catherine Carswell's writing also provides a contemporary parallel for a fusion between literary and artistic influences, again aligned in particular with the Glasgow School of Art; cf. Carol Anderson (ed.), *Opening the Doors: The Achievement of Catherine Carswell* (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 2001).

20 Burkhauser, p. 137. See further Colin White, *The Enchanted World of Jessie M. King* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1989).

21 Burkhauser (ed.), p. 99.

22 *Hans Christian Andersen. Fairy Tales*, trans. Tiina Nunnally, ed. and intro. Jackie Wullschlager (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 68.

23 On this point, see further Dunnigan (ed.), 'Introduction', p. xxvi.

19. 'To Children and Others': Audience, Advertising, and the Reception of Andrew Lang's Fairy Books (1889–1910)

SARA M. HINES

A review of new books appeared in the *Athenæum* on October 26 1889 announcing that 'Mr. Lang deserves a hearty vote of thanks from all good children this winter for his charming gift of "'The Blue Fairy Book"' published by Longman, Green and Co.[1] One of many who favourably reviewed *The Blue Fairy Book*, this reviewer's judgment proved prophetic in a number of ways:

> Here we find gathered together treasures, new and old, from all lands—fantasies from the 'Arabian Nights,' quaint imaginings of old France, Scottish legends, folk-stories from Grimm, weird Norse tales, old English stories from the chapbooks, and even 'Gulliver,' beloved of children. We have nothing quite like this delightful medley, which bids fair to be a household book for many a long year.[2]

Andrew Lang's (1844–1912) 'charming gift' to 'good children' did eventually become a 'household book', but not in isolation. Due to the success of *The Blue Fairy Book,* Lang and Longman's published new volumes for Christmas for twenty-three more years until 1911, with two volumes published posthumously in 1912 and 1913.[3] The phrases and epithets used in this review, such as 'new and old', 'treasures', 'beloved', and 'medley', came to define the whole of the Fairy Book series that, as in its first volume, gathered together tales 'from all lands.' While publications of fairy tale collections remained common more than sixty years after the Grimms' stories had been translated into English in 1823, Lang's Fairy Books reveal more about publishing, marketing, and advertising trends in the late-nineteenth century as well as

attitudes towards children's literature than simply a response to popular interest in fairy tales.

The immediate success of the Fairy Books series relied on several factors, the first of which was Lang's well-established reputation as a writer, scholar, and journalist among his contemporaries. Born in Selkirk, Lang studied at the University of Glasgow, before receiving a scholarship to finish his studies in the Classics at Oxford. From there, Lang moved to London where he developed his reputation through journalism and extensive publications on a wide variety of topics including literature, history, anthropology, cricket, and angling.[4] Furthermore, he published academic treatises, poetry, novels, and non-fiction covering history, classics, and literary criticism. To the question, 'Are you writing anything at present', Lang was known to answer among his friends, 'As if I ever did anything else'.[5] Lang was a literary reviewer for the *Academy*, *Monthly Review*, and the *Literary Chronicle* among other periodicals and his favourable – or not – opinion of contemporary literature held tremendous weight. George Saintsbury (1845–1933), a fellow journalist, later appointed to the Regius Professorship of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, offers the following somewhat hyperbolic description of Lang:

> Indeed my doubt would be audacious enough to extend itself further, and question whether anybody, undergraduate or don, Oxonian or Cantab, about the year 1869 possessed knowledge of ancient and modern literature as literature, coupled with power to make use of that knowledge in a literary way, to a greater extent than Lang.[6]

The second factor that impinged on the reception of Lang's series was that Lang had already begun securing his reputation as a scholar of fairy tales prior to the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book*. For example, in May 1888 the *Archaeological Review* published a review of *Perrault's Popular Tales*, a collection that included an introductory essay by Andrew Lang. The reviewer, commenting on Lang's introduction, states: 'To the students of Folktales this dissertation is of course the chief value of the work; and we

may say at once that it displays every grace of exposition and all the learning and acumen of which Mr. Lang is so great a master'.[7] This review highlights several key points about Lang's reputation in the years prior to the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book*. Firstly, the reviewer asserts that – for students of folktales – Lang's discussion of Perrault's tales is the book's 'chief value' even more valuable than the tales themselves. Secondly, the reviewer addresses the quality of Lang's scholarship, mentioning his grace and mastery of the subject. Not only were Lang's theories of folktales widely known in the 1880s, but they were also respected. Finally, the reviewer touches on the extensive knowledge that Lang possessed. This particular introduction does indeed exhibit much of Lang's diverse knowledge as he moves freely from Perrault's French fairy tales, to tales and scholarship from across Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and North America.

Due to his literary reputation and his scholarly publications on fairy tales, Lang's name is integral in the 'branding' of the series as Longman's continued to publish the Fairy Books. As Richard Altick explains, 'Brand name psychology assumes that a reader who is already pleased with one or two books belonging to such-and-such a "library" will regard the name of that series as a guarantee of excellence.'[8] Although marketing techniques for the Fairy Books change during their twenty-year span, one tactic remains consistent: the use of Lang's name. By the end of the 1880s Lang was not simply familiar with fairy tales as source material but he had conducted ongoing and extensive research on the significance and meaning of these stories. In addition to his introduction to Perrault's tales, in the decade preceding the publication of *The Blue Fairy Book* Lang wrote introductions for Margaret Hunt's translation of the Grimms' *Kinder- und Häusmarchen* ('Household Tales') (1884), *Beauty and the Beast* (1887), and a new edition of William Adlington's 1566 translation of Apuleius' 'Cupid and Psyche' (1887).[9] These books reveal Lang's extensive knowledge of, and engagement with, fairy-tale scholarship as it stood in the 1880s. Furthermore, a close examination of the Fairy Book series' development from 1889 to 1912 illuminates a distinct pattern where initial popularity yields a consolidated branding strategy, which then perpetuates continued success. The key

component of the consolidated branding strategy is Lang's name, which, as this chapter argues, represents both his well-established popular and scholarly reputation as well as his extensive knowledge of fairy tales.

In addition to his literary and scholarly reputation, Lang possessed one additional – and critical – qualification: an interest in children's reading habits. This qualification not only influenced Lang's editorial strategies for the Fairy Book series, but also affected the public's response to the series. Lang's interest in children's reading is most evident in the prefaces to the Fairy Books. He utilises these prefaces to have ongoing conversations with his readers about why he makes certain editorial decisions as well as to express his opinions about children's reading interests. Lang, according to his own words, and the opinions of others, knew what children wanted to read and provided it for them. Lang maintained an ongoing interest in and respect for children and was able to produce books that recognised the needs of the children and adult readers. His prefaces address the dual audience: adults who would recognise his name and value his reputation; and children, for whom he compiled the stories.

Audience: 'To Children and Others'

In addition to the twelve Fairy Books, Lang edited thirteen other books that were published by Longman's intermittently with the Fairy Books during the Christmas seasons (1891–1913). These thirteen books are as follows: *The Blue Poetry Book* (1891), *The True Story Book* (1893), *Red True Story Book* (1895), *The Animal Story Book* (1896), *Arabian Nights Entertainments* (1898), *The Red Book of Animal Stories* (1899), *Book of Romance* (1902), *The Red Book of Romance* (1905), *Book of Princes and Princesses* (1908), *The Red Book of Heroes* (1909), *All Sorts of Stories Book* (1911), *Book of Saints and Heroes* (1912), and *The Strange Story Book* (1913). Materially similar to the Fairy Books, these books (with the exception of the first), are also collections of stories. The subject matter of these Christmas Books coincides with Lang's literary interests, encompassing topics such as poetry, history, romance, and animal stories. The Christmas Books are included for consideration in this chapter in order to present as full an

assessment as possible of the discourses that permeate Lang's prefaces and to explain some of the developmental aspects of the Fairy Books over the course of their publication.

Lang uses the prefaces to the Christmas Books, along with the prefaces of the Fairy Books, to construct an ongoing conversation with the reader. Nevertheless, he does express some ambivalence about whether he believes that children actually read his prefaces or if they might simply serve as an opportunity to expound on his own ruminations. In *The Orange Fairy Book*, for example, he states: 'The children who read fairy books, or have fairy books read to them, do not read prefaces […]'.[10] However, the preface to *The Red Book of Romance* is addressed 'To Children and Others'. These prefaces often utilise a conversational style and it is assumed that, if nothing else, Lang did not attempt to alienate children should they choose to read the prefaces. Throughout the prefaces to all twenty-five of the Lang and Longman's books, Lang continually returns to two themes: 'what children like' (the subjects children enjoy reading about) and the distinction between reading for pleasure and education. Both of these themes influence his editorial strategies, through which he often represents himself as interceding on the child's behalf or editing according to children's interests.

In *The True Story Book* (1893), Lang pointedly indicates that his Fairy and Christmas books are not meant to be educational because the stories included in this volume border on 'history' and are far closer in proximity to what children might be taught in school than the stories in the previous three Fairy Books: 'Still,' he writes, 'it cannot be denied that true stories are not so good as fairy tales. They do not always end happily, and, what is worse, they do remind a young student of lessons and schoolrooms. A child may fear that he is being taught […]'.[11] Lang attempts to alleviate any such fears by assuring that 'the editor vows that he does not mean to teach anybody, and he has tried to mix the stories up so much that no clear and consecutive views of history can possibly be obtained from them […]'.[12] It is interesting to note that Lang is so wary of the possibility that any reader, child or adult, might misinterpret his intentions that he returns to the topic a third time in this same preface. To leave his readership in no

doubt of the intention of his book, he concludes the preface with the following reminder:

> Here, the editor leaves *The True Story Book* to the indulgence of children, explaining, once more, that his respect for their judgment is very great, and that he would not dream of imposing *lessons* on *them*, in the shape of a Christmas book. No, lessons are one thing, and stories are another. But though fiction is undeniably stranger and more attractive than truth, yet true stories are also rather attractive and strange, now and then. [emphasis in original][13]

Despite repeatedly returning to the distinction between his stories and lessons,[14] Lang echoes his role as literary commentator and often uses his prefaces as platforms for positing ideas about genre and offering literary recommendations to his young readers.

Lang explicitly differentiates between stories that inform and stories that entertain; the Christmas series includes twelve fairy books alongside true story books and Lang does not hesitate from questioning what exactly makes something true or from challenging distinctions between fiction and non-fiction. As demonstrated in the preface to *The Yellow Fairy Book*, Lang generally prioritises enjoyment: 'But *we* say that all the stories which are pleasant to read are quite true enough for us'.[15] Furthermore, Lang playfully challenges the increasingly scientific world-view that permeated the late nineteenth century. In *The Book of Princes and Princesses*, he states:

> There are some children who make life difficult by saying, first that stories about fairies are true, and that they like fairies; and next that they do not like true stories about real people, who lived long ago. I am quite ready to grant that there really are such things as fairies, because, though I never saw a fairy, any more than I have seen the little animals which lecturers call *molecules* and *ions*, still I have seen people who have seen fairies—truthful people. [emphasis in original][16]

Similarly, conflating belief in science with belief in the supernatural, in *The Red Book of Animal Stories*, he comments:

> For my part, I do not disbelieve that there may be plenty of strange animals which scientific men have not yet dissected and named by long names. Some of the last of these may have been remembered and called Dragons. For, if there were never any Dragons, why did all sorts of nations tell stories about them?'[17]

His question is interesting because he places literary, or fictional, evidence alongside physical, or scientific, evidence. Lang not only engages in verbal games with his readers, but he also encourages his readers to challenge the categories and classifications of the world around them. He advocates the value of 'narrative' as a framework for understanding their world. Dragons are in fact 'real' precisely *because* they exist in stories. In this way, he sometimes uses the prefaces to encourage his readers towards further investigation and discovery.

According to *The Standard*, Lang 'has the knack of telling his stories in exactly the style that children most appreciate'.[18] In the prefaces he challenges children to think critically about their environment and encourages them to read and expand their knowledge. He does so by pushing them to investigate further, not by simply handing them information. He articulates this position best in *The Blue Poetry Book*, in which he states: 'We make a mistake when we 'write down' to children; still more do we err when we tell a child not to read this or that because he cannot understand it. He understands far more than we give him credit for […].[19] It is this respect for children coupled with his ability to recognise the type of entertaining material children want to read that allowed Lang to edit books that appealed to young readers.

Lang therefore drew on both his professional background and his personal interests for his editorial strategies in *The Blue Fairy Book*, strategies that were then implemented for the remainder of the series. Not only did his background influence his editorial strategies, but it also affected Longman's advertising strategies and ultimately influenced public reception of the series.

Advertising: *The Blue Fairy Book* to *The Fairy Book Series*

The Blue Fairy Book first appeared on the market in the autumn of 1889. The volume contained thirty-seven stories, many of which would be recognised today as 'classic' tales, including 'Cinderella,' 'Red Riding Hood,' 'Hansel and Gretel,' and 'Beauty and the Beast.' Two Scottish stories also appear in this volume and in the preface, Lang indicates that, 'the Scotch stories are placed at the end for Scotch children.'[20] This is one of the few times that Lang directly addresses the specific nationalities of his readers. The significance of Lang's purposeful inclusion of Scottish stories in his collection has been explored elsewhere.[21] However, for the purposes of this chapter, it is important to note that not only is Lang's name integral to the marketing of the Fairy Book Series, but also, that Lang infuses the series with his own cultural identity and personal interests.

The phenomenon of using 'Fairy Books' as a branding label emerged later in the series' lifespan, but the label is paired with Lang's name and does not replace it. Between 1889 and 1910 the company conducted an extensive advertisement campaign for the Fairy Books: the series was advertised in a range of periodicals such as the *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art, The Academy*, *Practical Teacher, The Athenæum, Cornhill*, *Scots Observer*, *Pall Mall Magazine,* and *The Review of Reviews*. One of the most conspicuous trends in the advertisements of the Fairy Book series is simply the increase in advertisement space dedicated to the series over its lifetime. The period in which the series was being published coincided with the time in which 'bigger and bigger advertising campaigns were mounted'.[22] Nevertheless, for this particular series, the increase can be traced to two factors: the growing number of books in the series and the growing popularity of the series itself.

It seems self-evident that advertisements for one book in 1889 would be smaller than advertisements in 1900 for six books or in 1910 for twelve books. However, this increase is noteworthy because, as the series develops, books are added to a growing list rather than replacing previous volumes. Advertisements for *The Blue Fairy Book* simply advertise *The Blue Fairy Book* (the first one in the series); advertisements for *The Lilac*

Fairy Book (the last) advertise *The Lilac Fairy Book* plus all of the volumes that preceded it.

The marketing strategies that Longman's employs to advertise the collection provide extensive insight into the Fairy Books' popularity. Howsam argues that: 'Books in series exhibit useful evidence not only in the rise of the series as a publishing form, but also of trends in popular tastes and interests'.[23] That the Fairy Books comprise a series is vital to interpretation of the books and corresponds with Lau's supposition that, 'The series frame adds layers to the already nuanced and involved meanings of the tales themselves while also creating intertextual meanings for the series as a whole'.[24] As such, the popularity of the Fairy Books reflects the commodification of the books as a series.

From *The Grey Fairy Book* onward, the collection is most often advertised as 'The Fairy Book Series' or 'Mr. Lang's Fairy Book Series', with the heading in bold, or in another large font type. Such strategies make the series title prominent, repeatedly reminding readers that the latest volume is one part of a larger brand. Furthermore, later volumes are not advertised individually, but are frequently followed by a list of the previous volumes. Although the advertisement sizes vary from half-page to full-page, the number of books is extensive and continually draws readers' attention to the whole series.[25] Listing all the books is an indicator that each new volume is an addition, not a replacement. The volumes are not interchangeable; they are cumulative. The latest volume is insufficient on its own; it belongs within a collection.

Reception: from 'The most competent authority' to 'Let him ask the fairies'

Reviews recognise the significance of Lang's name as integral to the series often describing him as 'that great student and master of fairy folklore'.[26] In addition they acknowledge the child audience defined in Lang's prefaces. As the series develops, trends emerge and reviews often repeat or reaffirm the techniques utilised by Longman's in the series' advertisements. 'Old friends' of *The Blue Fairy Book* give way to new stories in *The Red Fairy Book. The Yellow Fairy Book* reviews shift from discussing

the stories to discussing the readers. As more volumes are added to the series, reviews focus less on each individual volume and more on the series as a whole. Ultimately, the series itself is regarded as so fully entrenched in the public awareness that it is enough to acknowledge the series and its importance rather than reviewing or commenting on a specific volume or story.

The Blue Fairy Book succeeds in setting itself apart from other collections of fairy tales. A review in *The Derby Mercury* describes the book as 'a handsome collection of the old fairy tales which have pleased so many generations'. 'The book', according to the review, 'is edited by that most competent authority, Mr. Andrew Lang'.[27] *The Blue Fairy Book* is more than just an anthology of familiar favourites. Due to the quality of its translations, illustrations, and editorial strategies, of all the collections of fairy tales in print, *The Blue Fairy Book* quickly became classified by reviewers as the best on the market.

There are changes in the way that reviewers engage with the second book. 'Last winter,' one reviewer begins, 'Mr. Andrew Lang made many children and not a few adults happy by his "Blue Fairy Book." This season he presents us with a companion volume, called "The Red Fairy Book" (6*s*., Longman's) and so called not because of any specifically bloodthirsty elements in the stories, but solely on account of the colour of the cover'.[28] This particular reviewer then declares:

> On the whole, I prefer the red volume to the blue. In the former, the stories were, so to speak 'old friends with new faces' – that is to say, we had the well-known 'Little Red Riding Hood' and kindred tales told over again, but acceptable because told with more of literary form than we are usually accustomed to. Here, however are stories, of which I think I may say that the majority of my readers have hitherto been as ignorant as I must confess to have been.[29]

This review touches on an idea that is demonstrated repeatedly in the reception of *The Red Fairy Book*. That is, Lang's first volume was delightful because it rendered the familiar stories in a literary style not usually seen

in these favourite stories. The second volume, according to the review, maintains literary consistency, but also introduces new stories to the reader, which then strengthens the volume.[30] *The Red Fairy Book*, however, depends upon the success of the preceding volume. Because of the comfort of the familiar material offered by *The Blue Fairy Book*, reviewers, and readers, were more prepared to follow Lang and Longman's into unknown territory, an exploration that becomes more pronounced as the series continues.

The merit of the second volume is evident by repeated proclamations that 'It is certain that this volume will be, and deserves to be, a favourite of the season'.[31] This praise does not diminish in subsequent reviews of *The Green Fairy Book*. A *Leeds Mercury* review indicates: 'The approach of Christmas will doubtless bring many beautiful volumes for the young to the shop windows and counters, but we doubt whether any of them will prove more charming or attractive than "The Green Fairy Book"'. [32] *The Green Fairy Book* retains the same superlatives as volumes before it.

In the oft-quoted preface to *The Green Fairy Book*, Lang claims that it is 'the third and probably the last, of the Fairy Books'.[33] The preface concludes with the following farewell:

> If we have a book for you next year, it shall not be a fairy book. What it is to be is a secret, but we hope that it will not be dull. So good-bye, and when you have read a fairy book, lend it to other children who have none, or tell them the stories in your own way, which is a very pleasant mode of passing the time.[34]

Reviews of *The Green Fairy Book* echo this presumed closure of the series, but it is a review of *The Red Fairy Book* in the *Leeds Mercury* that proves to be prophetic. The reviewer suggests: 'there seems every promise that this admirable series will exhaust the colours of the rainbow before it comes to an end'.[35] It is, interestingly, the secret book that Lang promised readers that holds the key to his return to Fairyland.

The book that Lang and Longman's released in the Christmas season of 1893 was entitled *The True Story Book*. The preface includes multiple indications that, due to the overwhelming response from readers, Lang and

Longman's will publish an additional Fairy Book the following Christmas. The first reference to Lang's plans for the following book is found at the end of the Dedication, written in verse. The final verse states:

> For Fairyland's the land of joy,
> And this the world of pain,
> So back to Fairyland, my boy,
> We'll journey once again![36]

If there was any doubt as to Lang's meaning or intent for next year's volume, however, the preface ends with the comment: 'And, after all, we may return once more to Fairyland, after this excursion into the actual workaday world'.[37] In the Christmas season of 1894, Lang and Longman's did indeed return to fairyland with the publication of *The Yellow Fairy Book*.

If *The Red Fairy Book* was the result of the overwhelming success of *The Blue Fairy Book*, *The Yellow Fairy Book* was the result of the popularity of the emerging series as a whole. Where the *Red* volume is a response to sales, the *Yellow* one a response to children's requests, at least according to Lang's preface: 'The Editor thinks that children will readily forgive him for publishing another Fairy Book. We have had the Blue, the Red, the Green, and here is the Yellow. If children are pleased, and they are so kind as to say that they *are* [*sic*] pleased, the Editor does not care very much for what other people may say.'[38] This position is subtle, because it slowly begins Lang's own distancing of himself from the series. The quotation does not simply highlight the popularity of the series, but it also notes Lang's reservations about continuing. Accordingly, he claims the return of the series is not his idea, but he is instead complying with demand. In addition, this volume had the largest initial print-run yet at 15,000 copies, thus indicating Longman's anticipation that there was a strong market for this volume. It is with this fourth volume, that the drive behind the series appears to shift again. A reviewer for *The Red Fairy Book* in 1890 had already put in a request for further volumes: 'Let us have a *White Fairy Book* .[…]. Then we will sing the Red, White, and Blue with joy, and perhaps put in a plea for a Green one […] and thereafter for a Yellow […] and so on, and so on'.[39] Although,

The White Fairy Book never came to fruition, Lang and Longman's, of course, complied with the *Green* and *Yellow Fairy Book*s. The books become a response to consumer demand for more fairy books edited by Lang, a shift that is further evident in the other reviews of *The Yellow Fairy Book*.

While reviews of the first three volumes often mention the literary quality of the text, reviews of *The Yellow Fairy Book* tend to focus on the readers. For example, according to a review in the *Morning Post*:

> The 'Yellow Fairy Book,' edited by Mr. Andrew Lang, admirably illustrated by Mr. H. J. Ford, and published by Messers. Longmans and Co., though coming after several volumes of the variously-coloured series to which it belongs, proves by the attractiveness of its contents, and the great variety of the authors whose works have been drawn upon, how vast is the store of delightful old fairy-lore that happily maintains its hold over the young readers of the present day.[40]

This review recognises the genesis of the series that Longman's was beginning to incorporate into its advertisements, and it further conveys a similar perspective to that of Lang's, previously mentioned from the preface to *The Yellow Fairy Book:* readers want fairy tales. Certainly, reviews on the first three volumes referenced the child reader, but reviews of *The Yellow Fairy Book* emphasise the connection between the child reader and this particular series. A review in *Bookman*, for example, states: 'The green, red, and blue fairy books need this one for a neighbour. Possessors of the others will think there is no falling off, and begin to speculate about next year's colour'.[41] It is not simply that children like to read fairy tales, but that children want fairy tale collections edited by Andrew Lang. Lang's name, which is used heavily in Longman's branding strategy, becomes inextricably intertwined with fairy tales.

If *The Yellow Fairy Book* can be regarded as Lang's return to fairy-land, according to reviews, the remaining eight volumes in the series define Lang as having privileged access to fairyland. The series offers

unmistakable proof of Lang's knowledge of fairy stories and that his research capabilities are inexhaustible: a refrain that echoed throughout reviews on all the later volumes. Further apparent is the shift from reviewer surprise and delight at a new release to reviewer expectation that the series will continue.

A review in the *Derby Mercury* captures both the expectation for the series as well as remarking on Lang's unlimited store of tales. The reviewer writes that:

> Mr. Andrew Lang has returned to the fairies in his search for the material for the children's volume which is now annually expected of him. They have had two true story books and one about animals, and fairy books blue, red, green, and yellow. This one is pink, 'The Pink Fairy Book' (Longmans), and although in the beginning if we remember aright, there was some doubt as to whether the supply of good fairy stories was equal to the demand, we hazard the opinion that Mr. Lang will be out of colours before he is out of stories. At any rate, the new pink collection is quite equal to any of its predecessors. […] We are quite sure that the 'Pink Fairy Book' will prove as fascinating and absorbing as the most exciting critic could demand.[42]

The fairy stories from Perrault, the Grimms, and *Arabian Nights* that comprised a majority of the stories in *The Blue Fairy Book* are generally regarded as the familiar, classic fairy tales.[43] However, these classic tales are a very small set of the overall collection. Lang's twelve Fairy Books contain a total of 437 fairy tales, and while some motifs and themes are repeated, most of the stories' titles, characters, and settings would not be familiar to his contemporary readers and furthermore have not gained classic status since their publication. The sheer volume of stories contained in Lang's collection is a reminder that the whole canon of fairy tales is much larger than the core classic tales, something reviewers noticed and commented on as the series continued. A review in the *Pall Mall Gazette* acknowledges that the continuance of Lang's series has caused a surprising realisation that

fairyland is much more expansive than the reviewer had been aware. The reviewer indicates:

> On the making of variously coloured fairy books there would seem to be practically no end so long as translators and editor sustain their industrious researches among the *märchen* of other lands, with their yearly result of a pleasing *olla podrita* composed of the fruits of their labours. This time it is a 'Grey Fairy Book' (Longmans, Green, and Co.), the ninth of its line, that is offered to the youthful public. And, considering how many seasons, each year under a differently hued flag, the fields of faëry have been shorn by the same practised hand, it is, at the first blush, surprising to note the harvest of fairly unfamiliar *contes* Mr. Lang has contrived to gather in this pretty volume.[44]

The refrain about Lang's inexhaustible knowledge of fairyland is repeated in *Pall Mall Magazine*: '*The Violet Fairy Book* (Longmans) arrives at a point when Mr. Andrew Lang has nearly exhausted the rainbow, even if he has not exhausted the more gorgeous circle of his own knowledge and memory'.[45] The *Saturday Review* claims in 1904 that: 'Mr. Lang finds the resources of cosmopolitan fairydom inexhaustible'[46] and two years later repeats itself by calling Lang's resources 'an inexhaustible mine'.[47] This repeating refrain is crucial because it positions Lang as having unique access to stories not available to readers or other writers. Accordingly, although many people are perhaps aware of the classic tales from Perrault, Grimm, d'Aulnoy, or Andersen, Lang, according to reviews, has singular and unlimited access to a secret store of fairy tales. Alongside 'Cinderella' and 'Beauty and the Beast', he publishes stories such as 'Janni and the Draken' 'The Story of the Yara' and 'The Sea-King's Gift'. Even though Lang provides printed sources in his citation notes, the narrative which instead emerges in these reviews is that Lang somehow has been granted admittance to 'fairyland', as if it is a geographical space populated by fairy tale narratives. Fairyland, however, is selective; not everyone can visit; yet, Lang, according to the reviews, can visit and return with stories that can be distributed to others. Such representation blithely ignores the very real geographical space that Lang

identifies in his notes.[48] He clearly indicates the country and culture of origin as well as the textual origin, if a story was previously printed. A reviewer for the *Bookman* emphasises Lang's privileged access and writes:

> Mr. Lang will fall short of colour-terms before he falls short of fairy-tales. We offer him a suggestion—let him ask the fairies to tell him of new colours, and then he could come out each Christmas with a shade unknown to us who work all the year round among primary hues.[49]

Lang is a translator of sorts, but also an importer of goods from another place. He is represented as a mediator, journeying to fairyland, discoursing with the fairies, and then bringing back narrative gifts for the public: gifts they in turn can purchase and give as Christmas presents.

In such representations of Lang, he becomes unique because he has access to a place that is inaccessible to others, but these representations also serve to distance him from the stories in the series – a position further present in his own prefaces. He does not create the stories: he simply imports them to Britain. That the books are released in time for Christmas becomes doubly poignant. The books are not only gifts from adult to child but also Lang's gift from Fairyland to Britain. A review in the *Graphic* states: 'No Christmas would be complete without a volume from Mr. Andrew Lang, who seems to have an unrivaled knowledge of the best source whence fairy tales may be obtained'.[50] Although during the release of *The Crimson Fairy Book* a review in the *Athenæum* indicates that 'We are beginning to look forward with regret to the time when the fairy stories will be used up',[51] four more volumes were subsequently published. There is no question that future Christmases will bring more books edited by Mr Lang and book-buyers are already anticipating volumes of stories not yet collected from fairyland or published in Britain.

Conclusion: 'The time has come to say good-bye'

The Fairy Book series was eventually regarded as having reached a point where reviews were hardly deemed necessary as the public was assumed to

be so familiar with it. According to the *Athenæum*, 'The "Fairy Book Series" due to Mr. Lang's beneficent intervention has long passed into that happy region of success where critics are of no account, even if they were needed'.[52] According to the *Review of Reviews*, 'One of the classics of the Christmas literature for the young is the volume of Fairy Tales edited by Andrew Lang, and issued about this time every year by Longmans, Green, and Co. We shall soon be measuring the young lives of our children by that row of crown octavo volumes in various colours on the nursery bookshelves. It is already a long row'.[53] Certain assumptions permeate these reviews: that Lang and Longman's will continue to publish volumes of fairy tales indefinitely and that consumers will continue to purchase them. These reviews also favour the whole series over the individual volume, echoing the advertising strategies that Longman's develops.

The shift in the way reviewers describe *The Blue* and *Red Fairy Books* as Lang's gifts to the public to representing Lang as having access to fairyland in later reviews is striking. The perpetuation of the series, in their eyes, serves to substantiate Lang's privileged access to fairy tales, but also characterises the limitless possibilities for the series. As a reviewer of *The Olive Fairy Book* noted in the *Bookman*:

> We have often fancied, when year after year the fairy-books of many colours have dropped out from Messrs. Longmans' offices, that Mr. Andrew Lang *must* be the possessor of a Fairy Casket into which he has only to dip his hand and out come tales by the score. And, truly enough, this year Mr. Lang has breathed to us the secret—he *does* possess the Fairy Casket, or, in other words, *Le Cabinet des Fées*, and our hearts grow jubilant at the news, for now we may feel sure that, unless we live to a quite unreasonable age, for us there will always be the annual Fairy-book. [emphasis in original][54]

There is always the potential for more: more fairy tales, more books, more colours. According to the conceit that develops in the reviews, since Lang draws on a repertoire of stories from fairyland, there is no way of knowing how long the series can continue. There was no obvious or planned

conclusion for the series. After Lang's preface in *The Green Fairy Book,* which turns out to be incorrect, neither Lang nor Longman's offer a definitive statement as to how the series will be defined. It continues to grow book by book. The Fairy Book series, like fairyland itself, becomes seemingly infinite.

This examination of key steps in the development of the Fairy Book series has demonstrated that while a number of factors contributed to the overall success of the series, Longman's responded to these factors with specific branding strategies that capitalised on and perpetuated the success of the series. The first, and most critical component, was Lang's name. Without his established and extensive reputation, *The Blue Fairy Book* would not have received such high accolades. His authority and knowledge of fairy tales set the series in motion. The first book's success then caused more volumes to be added and this cumulative effect allowed Longman's to consolidate their branding strategies around Lang's name and the ever-growing series. Branding the series as a series commodifies it. The series becomes incomplete as each new volume is released, demanding that consumers purchase the latest volume in order to complete their own collection. Finally, the reviews of the Fairy Books further perpetuate enthusiasm for the series, by repeatedly re-asserting Lang's authority and knowledge of not just fairy tales, but of fairyland. If the desire to add the next volume to the collection is not enough to induce consumers to purchase the latest volume, the reviews remind readers that it is specifically Lang's series that includes fairy tales worth reading; fairy tales direct from fairyland. In the reviews, Lang's reputation as an authority broadens enough to define the fairy tales in *his* collection as authentic. It is not enough to continue collecting the growing collection, but *this* collection is *the* collection to collect. Andrew Lang, a Scottish-born writer, becomes responsible for a global phenomenon of fairy tales, because of his esteemed academic reputation and his perceived singular access to fairyland.

The series does end, of course, with *The Lilac Fairy Book*. Lang passed away almost exactly two years after its publication and then two Christmas books were released after Lang died in 1912: *The Book of Saints and Heroes* (1912) and *The Strange Story Book* (1913). *The Book of Saints and Heroes*,

having already been in progress, included a preface written by Lang and *The Strange Story Book* contains a tribute to Lang by his wife Leonora Lang. When *The Blue Fairy Book* was first published in 1889, it was not expected to be the first in a series, but the release of *The Strange Story Book* is undoubtedly recognised as the end. According to the preface:

> And now the time has come to say good-bye; and good-byes are always so sad that it is much better when we do not know that we have got to say them. It is so long since Beauty and the Beast and Cinderella and Little Red Riding Hood came out to greet you in the 'Blue Fairy Book,' that some of you who wore pigtails or sailor suits in those days have little boys and girls of your own to read the stories to now […] .
>
> Now as this is the very last book of all this series that began in the long long ago, perhaps you may like to hear something of the man who thought over every one of the twenty-five, for fear lest a story should creep in which he did not wish his little boys and girls to read.[55]

Recognition of the series' completion appeared in published reception. A review in the *Bookman* states: 'This is the last of the twenty-five children's books with which Andrew Lang has delighted two generations of lovers of fairy tales and adventure stories'.[56] Longman's did begin another series of books for children, but one vastly different from the Fairy Books. According to a review in the *Athenaeum*, 'Messers. Longman's announce that in succession to "The Fairy Book Series" edited by the late Andrew Lang, and published by them every Christmas season for the last twenty-five years, they have arrange with Mr. Henry Newbolt, the author of "Admirals All," to write for them a book entitled "The Book of the Blue Sea"'.[57] The book was completely distinct and cannot in any way be regarded as a continuation of Lang's series. Without Lang, access to fairyland no longer existed and Longman's did not attempt to modify the branding strategies that had been created since 1889. The importance of the connection between Lang and the series is, therefore, best recognised by the fact that Lang's name

was so completely intertwined with the series that Longman's did not publish further volumes without him.

The fairy book series have remained in print over the past century. The series was reissued with the original illustrations in various formats, for example, school editions, through the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. The series was re-published by Longman's in the 1940s and 1950s, edited by Mary Gould Davis and the volumes were re-illustrated by various artists. From the mid-1970s to early 1980s Brian Alderson edited new editions of the first five books – *Blue* (1974), *Red* (1976), *Green* (1978), *Yellow* (1980), and *Pink* (1982) – for Kestrel Books in London and Viking Press in New York, both divisions of Penguin Books Ltd. Although Alderson edited, reorganised, and omitted stories in his editions, he is transparent in his editing strategies and offers copious explanatory notes for these changes in the prefaces and in the notes section at the end of each book. Dover issued facsimile reproductions of the original editions between 1965 and 1968, which are still in print. There have been a number of single-volume editions that contain a small selection of stories from all twelve books. Finally, in 2003, the Folio Society decided to include Andrew Lang's *Blue Fairy Book* in their catalogue over one hundred years after the book was originally published. For over one hundred years, the collection has been represented as holding the treasures of fairyland. Although the genre of the stories is undoubtedly influential on the series' reception, continual reprints and new editions ensure that the Fairy Books have indeed been 'household book[s] for many a long year'.

Notes

1 [Anon.], review of Andrew Lang, *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), *Athenæum*, 26 October 1889, p. 556 in *19th Century British Library Newspapers.* [accessed 23 April 2012].
2 Ibid., p. 556.
3 Of these twenty-five Christmas Books, thirteen are not Fairy Books, but do inform the discussions in this essay. The Fairy Book series consists of *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), *The Red Fairy Book* (1890), *The Green Fairy Book* (1892), *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), *The Pink Fairy Book* (1897), *The Grey Fairy Book* (1900), *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901), *The Crimson Fairy Book* (1903), *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904), *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906), *The Olive Fairy Book* (1907), and *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910).
4 For a comprehensive bibliography, see Roger Lancelyn Green, *Andrew Lang* (Leicester: E. Ward, 1946). Green's biography is a necessary starting point for any scholarship on Andrew Lang, because it includes a comprehensive bibliography of Lang's known writings, including fiction, non-fiction, academic, articles, and reviews.
5 Ella Christie Stewart and Alice King Stewart, *A Long Look at Life* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1940), p. 163.
6 George Saintsbury, 'Andrew Lang in the 'Seventies—and After', in *The Eighteen Seventies*, ed. Harvey Granville-Barker. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 80–95 (p. 81).
7 [Anon.], review of Charles Perrault, *Perrault's Popular Tales* (1888), *Archeological Review* (1888), 235–36, (p. 235).
8 Richard Altick, 'From Aldine to Everyman: Cheap Reprint Series of the English Classics, 1830–1906', in *Studies in Bibliography*, 11 (1958): 3–24 (p. 12).
9 In 1913 Jacobs expressed a hope that Lang's introductions and prefaces to various collections will be 'collected together in a volume, and made more easily accessible to the students of folk-lore. This would be a worthy monument of perhaps his more important contribution to folk-lore' (Joseph Jacobs, 'Andrew Lang as Man of Letters and Folk-Lorist', *Journal of American Folklore* 26. 102 (1913) p. 367–72, (p. 371)). To date no such volume exists.
10 Andrew Lang, *The Orange Fairy Book* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1906) p. v.
11 Andrew Lang, *The True Story Book* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893), p. ix.
12 Ibid. pp. ix–x. This dismissal of history should be read in context as Lang published extensively on historical topics elsewhere. He respected history and in turn was a respected historian.
13 Ibid., p. xiv.
14 See also Lang's prefaces to *The Red Romance Book* and *Book of Princes and Princesses:* Andrew Lang, *The Red Romance Book* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905), pp. v–vi; Leonora Blanche Lang and Andrew Lang, *The Book of Princes and Princesses* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908), pp. vii–viii.
15 Andrew Lang, *The Yellow Fairy Book* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894). p. x.
16 Leonora Blanche Lang and Andrew Lang, *The Book of Princes and Princesses* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908), p. vii.
17 Andrew Lang, *The Red Book of Animal Stories*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905), p. x.
18 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), *Standard*, 7 December 1894, p. 2 in *19th Century British Library Newspapers.* [Accessed 23 April 2012].

19 Andrew Lang, *The Blue Poetry Book*, (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1891), pp. xi–xii.
20 Andrew Lang. *The Blue Fairy Book*. (London; Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), p. xxi.
21 Sara M. Hines, 'Narrating Scotland: Andrew Lang's Fairy Book Collection. *The Gold of Fairnilee*, and "A Creelful of Celtic Stories"', *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin (Leiden; Brill, 2012.) pp. 207–25.
22 Earnest Sackville Turner. *The Shocking History of Advertising* (Harmondsworth; Penguin Books, 1965), p. 134.
23 Leslie Howsam, 'Sustained Literary Ventures: The Series in Victorian Book Publishing', *Publishing History* 31 (1992), 5–26 (p. 6) in *Periodicals Archive Online*. [accessed 10 February 2012].
24 Kimberly J. Lau, 'Serial Logic: Folklore and Difference in the Age of Feel-Good Multiculturalism', *Journal of American Folklore* 113, 447 (2000). pp. 70–82 (p. 71), in *JSTOR*. [accessed 26 November 2007].
25 Although these advertisements include all of Lang's Christmas books, not only the Fairy Books, occasionally the books are split into two lists thereby distinguishing the Fairy Books from the other Christmas books. *The Lilac Fairy Book*. Advertisement. *Bookman* Dec. 1910. p. 48.
26 [Anon.] review of *The Japanese Fairy Book*, *Athenæum*, 8 December 1906, pp. 731–33 (p. 732) in *British Periodicals*. [accessed 24 April 2012]. Likewise, a reviewer in the *Athenæum* calls Lang 'a master of fairy lore' in a review of *Prince Prigio*, once again reminding that Lang had already achieved this reputation prior to the series' start ('Christmas Books' review of *Prince Prigio, Athenæum* 16 November 1889, pp. 669–70 (p. 669)).
27 '[Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Blue Fairy Book* (1889), *Derby Mercury* 23 October 1889, p. 6, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. [accessed 20 September 2010].
28 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Red Fairy Book* (1890), *Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 3 January 1891: 11, p. 552 in *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. [accessed 12 April 2012].
29 Ibid.
30 See also the *Glasgow Herald*, which states: 'This collection is altogether a notable one, and perhaps the more interesting that the majority of the tales are not as familiar as those in the "Blue" collection' and *The Standard*, in which the reviewer comments: 'This volume, like its predecessor of last year, is full of the fairy tales of many nations, and is likely to be even more appreciated than the last, inasmuch as the stories, with but few exceptions are new to English readers' ('Literature' review of *The Red Fairy Book, Glasgow Herald*, 6 November 1890, p. 9, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 20 September 2010] and 'Christmas Books (Fourth Notice)', review of *The Red Fairy Book, Standard* 16 December 1890, p. 2, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 23 April 2012]).
31 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Red Fairy Book* (1890), *Glasgow Herald*, 6 November 1890, p. 9, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. [accessed 20 September 2010].
32 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Green Fairy Book* (1892), *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1892, p. 8, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. [accessed 20 September 2010].
33 Andrew Lang, *The Green Fairy Book* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), p. ix.
34 Ibid. p. xi.

35 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Red Fairy Book* (1890), *Leeds Mercury*, 19 November 1890, p. 4, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. [accessed 12 April 2012].
36 Andrew Lang, *The Yellow Fairy Book* (London; Longmans, Green & Co., 1894), p. viii.
37 Ibid., p. xiv.
38 Ibid., p. ix. This preface is a direct response to G. Laurence Gomme's 1894 Presidential Address to the Folk-Lore Society, in which he condemns fairy tales 'clothed in red, blue, and green' (George Laurence Gomme, 'Presidential Address' *Folklore* 5.1 (1894), p. 43–69 (p. 63)).
39 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Red Fairy Book* (1890), *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 23 November 1890, pp. 594–595, in *British Periodicals* [accessed 28 December 2011].
40 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), *Morning Post*, 19 October 1894, p. 6, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. [accessed 20 September 2010].
41 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), *Bookman*, December 1894, p. 9, in *British Periodicals*. [accessed 22 April 2012]. See also the *Derby Mercury*, which states: 'It needs little prophetic power to be able to say that Mr. Andrew Lang's "Yellow Fairy Book" (Longmans) will be anxiously looked for by the children' and *The Standard,* which notes Lang's 'knowledge of telling his stories in exactly the style that children most appreciate.' ([Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), *Derby Mercury*, 24 October 1894, p. 6, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 20 September 2010] and [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Yellow Fairy Book* (1894), *Standard*, 7 December 1894, p. 2, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 12 October 2010]).
42 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Pink Fairy Book* (1897), *Derby Mercury*, 20 October 1897, p. 6, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. [accessed 21 September 2010].
43 For a comprehensive examination of the 'classic fairy tales' see, Iona Archibald Opie and Peter Opie, *The Classic Fairy Tales* (London; Granada, 1980).
44 [Anon.] 'Five Fairy Books', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 November 1900, p. 9, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 22 April 2012].
45 G. K. Chesterton, 'Books to Read' *Pall Mall Magazine*, December 1901, pp. 573–76 (p. 574), in *British Periodicals* [accessed 28 December 2010].
46 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Brown Fairy Book* (1904)*, Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 17 December 1904, pp. vi–vii (p. vi), in *British Periodicals* [accessed 17 February 2012].
47 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906), *Saturday Review Supplement*, 8 December 1906, pp. viii–x (p. viii), in *British Periodicals* [accessed 10 April 2012].
48 For further reading on the colonial ramifications of Lang's collection, see Sara Hines, 'Collecting the Empire: Andrew Lang's Fairy Books (1889–1910)', *Marvels & Tales* 24:1 (2010), pp. 39–56.
49 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Olive Fairy Book* (1907), *Bookman*, December 1907, p. 48.
50 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Pink Fairy Book* (1897), *Graphic*, 18 December 1897, pp. 800–02 (p. 802), in *19th Century British Library Newspapers.* [accessed 20 September 2010]. See also reviews that state: 'Christmas for many favoured children would not be complete without one of Mr. Andrew Lang's story books' and a review in the *Academy*

Christmas Supplement that notes: '*The Violet Fairy Book* (Longmans. 6*s*) is worthy of its predecessors. Where the stories come from, and how many there are still to come, are problems which we cannot begin to answer. It is Mr. Lang who can find them if anyone is able.' ([Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901), *Art Journal*, December 1901, pp. 383–84 (p. 383), in *British Periodicals* [accessed 22 December 2011] and [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Violet Fairy Book* (1901), *Academy*, 7 December 1901, p. 552, in *British Periodicals* [accessed 12 October 2011]).

51 [Anon.] 'Juvenile Books', *Athenæum*, 17 October 1903, p. 513, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 28 December 2011].

52 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910), *Athenæum*, 10 October 1910, p. 418, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 10 October 2010].

53 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Orange Fairy Book* (1906), *Review of Reviews*, November 1906, pp. 529–41 (p. 539), in *British Periodicals* [accessed 12 October 2011]. See also reviews that refer to the series as 'what is now a well-known collection' or comment: 'We have here another of the well-known and popular series of many colours'. ([Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Lilac Fairy Book* (1910), *Review of Reviews*, December 1910, p. 608–09 (p. 608), in *British Periodicals* [accessed 22 April 2012] and [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang *The Pink Fairy Book* (1910), *Standard*, 24 December 1897, p. 6, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 22 April 2012]).

54 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Olive Fairy Book* (1907), *Bookman*, December 1907, p. 48.

55 Andrew Lang, *The Strange Story Book* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913), p vii.

56 [Anon.] review of Andrew Lang, *The Strange Story Book* (1913), *Bookman*, December 1913 p. 193, in *British Periodicals* [accessed 10 April 2012].

57 [Anon.] review of Henry Newbolt, *The Book of the Blue Sea* (1914), *Athenæum*, 25 July 1914, p. 120, in *19th Century British Library Newspapers* [accessed 8 April 2012].

VI. CHILDREN'S BOOKS IN THE ARCHIVE

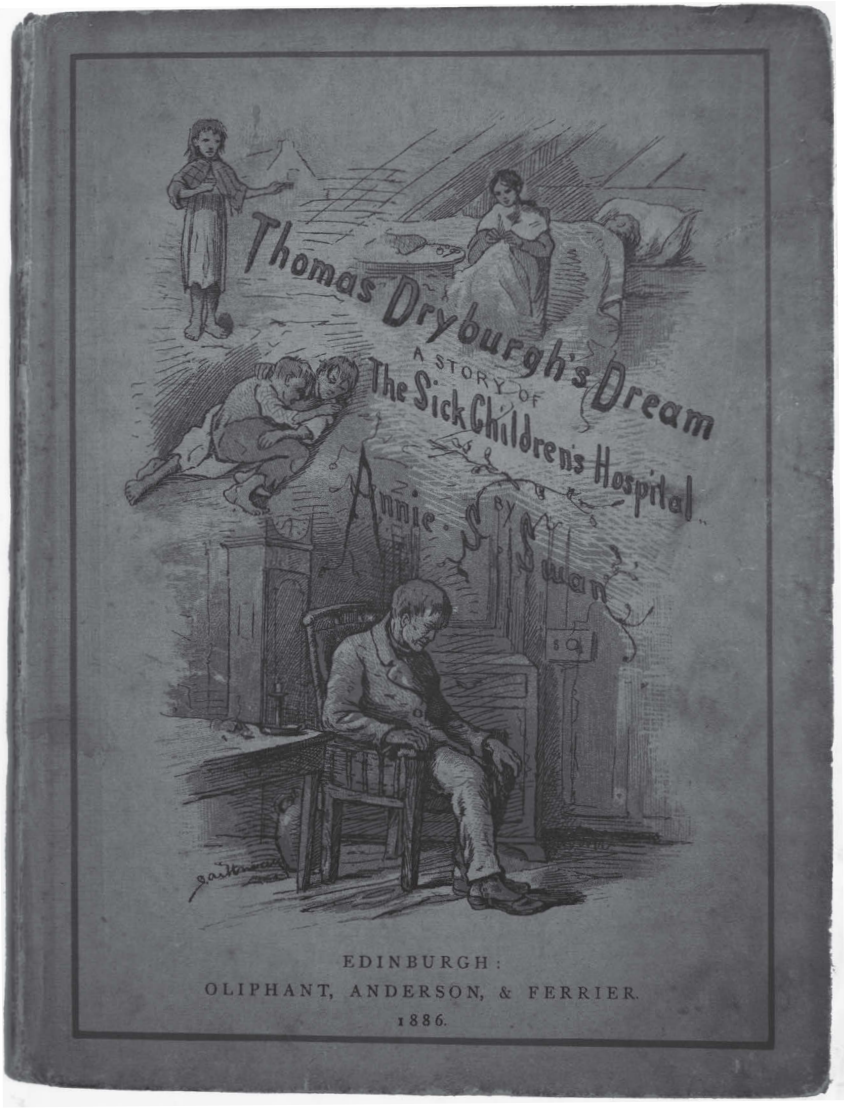
20. 'It is lovely to be five'

LYN STEVENS, DANIELLE HOWARTH,
MORGAN BOHARSKI, JOANNA WITKOWSKA

This final section presents a very distinctive vision of children's books in Scotland in the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century. In concrete and tangible ways, it builds a bridge to the lived experience and material reality of children's reading culture, enabled to do so by the SELCIE (Scotland's Early Literature for Children Initiative) research project, based in the University of Edinburgh's English Literature department. Since 2016, SELCIE and its researchers have been archiving the extensive historical book collections of Edinburgh's Museum of Childhood. Founded in 1955 by Patrick Murray,[1] the archive opens a unique door to the educational, social, religious, and imaginative experiences embodied in books for children. The following wide-ranging vignettes, written by members of the SELCIE team, present an often-personal reflection on the different stories about children's lives and children's reading proffered by particular books, and even the objects discovered within. Aptly, at the end of *this* book, they remind us of the affective power of children's literature – its tangible role in individual lives as well as literary and cultural memory. It begins with a forgotten book, about children's social and physical welfare, by Annie S. Swan.

I. Annie S. Swan's *Thomas Dryburgh's Dream: A Story of The Sick Children's Hospita*l (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1886)

The book by Annie S. Swan (1859–1943) is small and brown, and not very exciting at first glance, and could be overlooked amongst the thousands of other colourful books stored at the Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh. However, Swan's tale of poverty, charity, and family laid out in 'Thomas Dryburgh's Dream' gives the reader an insight into many fascinating aspects of late nineteenth-century Scotland.



Swan's book is set in the fictitious Undergate area of Dunleith, which is most probably a thinly disguised description of the Cowgate area of Edinburgh, known at this time as a warren of dilapidated buildings in an overcrowded, slum area of the city's lower level Old Town. However, the

scene that is described would be familiar across many British cities at that time. The book begins with the main character, Mary Derrick, sad, hungry and cold in her attic room. Beside her is her child who is gradually fading away from ill health and lack of nourishment. Swan very clearly sets out Mary Derrick as a victim of bad fortune and mistreatment, as opposed to her having made bad or immoral choices to end up in her predicament. Mary has come from a rural family of reasonable means that runs a mill; however, her brother, Thomas Dryburgh, has full control of the family funds and when Mary wishes to marry he provides nothing for her and her new husband. It is indicated that he resents Mary moving away to the city, which means she is no longer providing help and housekeeping at the mill. Not long after Mary's child is born her husband dies, and with no financial support from a husband or a family Mary is plunged into poverty, trying to make ends meet by taking in sewing. In the Victorian era, there was a very clear distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor in many people's minds, and Mary would have been deemed deserving. Her circumstances were not of her making and even in the depths of her plight she had resisted the temptation of sins of the flesh and the bottle.

The tale also outlines the vulnerable position of women at this time, completely financially dependent on men. Until 1887 once a woman married she became the property of her husband, and so did all of her property. Annie S. Swan was married, and although she could raise funds through her very popular fiction writing and after-dinner speaking, she was very aware of the woman's place in Victorian society and later campaigned as a suffragette. In 1922, she stood for election for the Liberal Party in Maryhill, Glasgow. She was still under no illusion that women's suffrage had won the war on equality and after failing to be elected wrote that '[t]he great mass of women voters do not believe in women candidates. I believe the majority of my votes came from men'.[2]

The book continues with Mary worrying over her child, and there are several knocks at her door over the subsequent days which Mary is too ashamed to answer, embarrassed by her poverty. In a moment of desperation one day she does open the door and is visited by a local churchwoman

who tells her about the local hospital for sick children that could help her for free. Mary at first refuses: she is worried the child will be taken from her. These are the days of the workhouse where families would be torn apart and set to work to pay back to society for their upkeep, and to feel their sin of poverty. And perhaps she was determined to care for the child herself or felt too proud to accept charity. Children's hospitals had been established for a while by 1886 – Great Ormond Street hospital was the first British children's hospital to be opened in 1852, and soon after was followed by Edinburgh's children's hospital in 1860, but establishments were still viewed with suspicion and Mary repeatedly asks for reassurances that she can visit the child if admitted, and later in the book is shown the rooms where the children are cared for to offer reassurance.

Mary sees her child is continuing to worsen and decides to take up the offer of help from the churchwoman. The child is admitted to hospital and makes a good recovery. During the child's hospital stay, the reader is taken back to her brother at the mill. Mary has written several times to her brother asking for help, and he has ignored the letters. However, at last his conscience is pricked as he realises he is alone and unloved. Whilst he sleeps he dreams of a scene in a city slum, in a very Dickensian and *A Christmas Carol* way. In his dream a voice asks him to follow and takes him to a scene in the great city of Dunleith. The eerie companion shows him a cold damp corner of the city where he sees 'what seemed at first to be a heap of something, but which the wondering miller presently discerned to be two children closely clasped to each other […] They were in rags, shoeless, hatless, shirtless […] Little bare feet resting against the cold wet flags'. The children go on to be described as brothers and the elder takes off his own miserable jacket to give to his younger brother in a act of kindness. Further along is a little match girl, barefoot and sobbing, then they journey on to a sorry looking tenement building, right to the top in a tiny room where they spy a thin and wretched Mary, her sewing and child to one side as she writes to her brother.

Thomas wakens and immediately hurries to the city to help his family, realising his mistaken pride in refusing to respond earlier. He learns that Mary has taken her daughter to the children's hospital and he hurries there

"DAINTY LITTLE COTS."

arriving on Christmas Eve, no less. He is so moved by the work he sees done at the hospital and impressed with the cleanliness and kindness of care that he makes a donation on the spot. Later, Thomas and Mary return to the mill with the now healthy child, and future happy years with friends and neighbours aplenty are described. We are told Thomas continues to make yearly donations at Christmas and the book finishes with a description of his will leaving a bequest to the hospital.

These early children's hospitals were established by churches and relied totally on donations for their running costs. At this time, it was beginning to be recognised that children's medicine was a distinct discipline from the care of adults, with some illnesses only affecting children and also that for many poor children, to save them all that was needed was good care and nourishment. In Edinburgh during the 1850s the infant death rate was one in every thirteen children. Dr John Smith of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary wrote in his letter to the *Scotsman* in 1859:

> The complainings – the whisperings of distress lisped out by those unfortunate little creatures are too feeble to attract attention. […] When starvation, helplessness and neglect – nay, perhaps brutality – are added to bodily illness, the picture may become a painful one, but it is one to which we must not shut our eyes; if we do – if communities know such miseries to exist and provide no redress, no means of their alleviation – it becomes something more serious than a mere omission.

By 1886 when this book was published, Swan had recently moved to Edinburgh from Fife with her new husband, who was studying medicine. She would have been very aware of health issues facing the poor and the need for free health care provided by the hospital. This book is a vehicle for raising awareness of the good that the children's hospitals could do, and how to help them. It is an unashamed plea for donations to such establishments and a window into a very different society from today, illustrating life before a welfare system and a National Health Service could provide for those in need.

Lyn Stevens

II. Buds and bus tickets: material culture in children's books

Books are objects that can be as multivalent and complex as the literature that they contain; as a medievalist, this is not a foreign concept to me. However, while sorting and cataloguing the extensive collection of children's literature held by the Museum of Childhood, I found a new appreciation for the codicology of more modern children's literature. While handling countless books that have been treasured by children in the past I have become particularly interested in the objects that are sometimes left behind inside books. These insertions – which range from bookmarks to pressed flowers and beyond – are testament to the ways in which these books were used and loved in so many different ways by their past owners, and add to the narrative of the books that hold them.

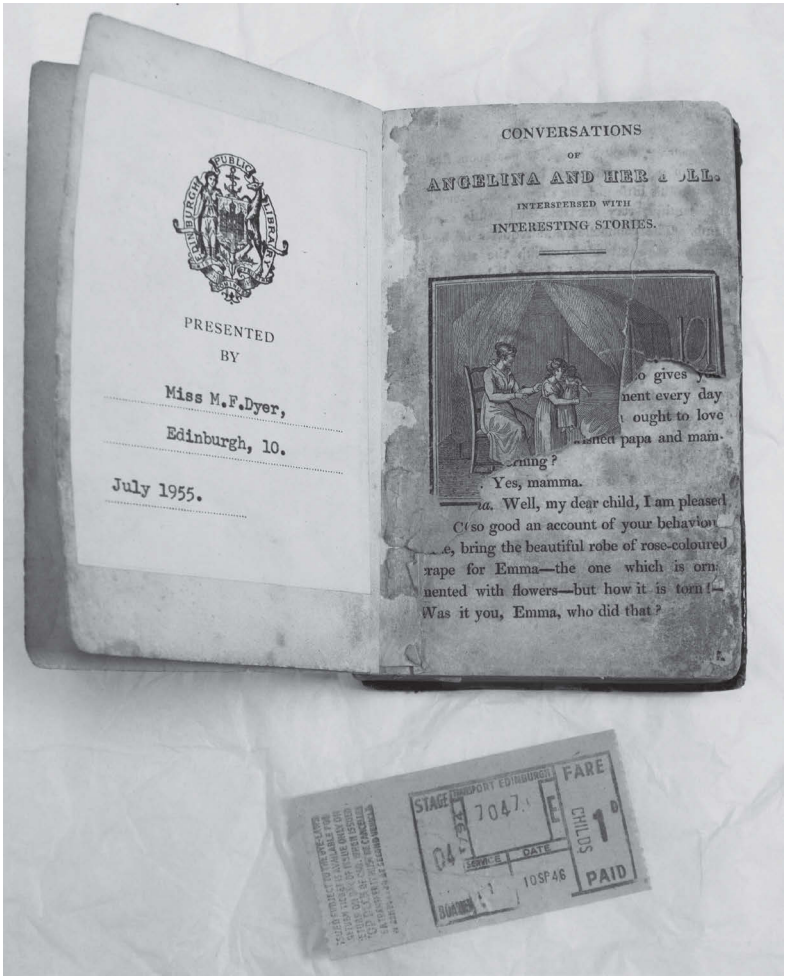
Sometimes these narratives are clearly linked to youth and playfulness. The many doodles and annotations we have found allow us to glimpse the ways in which books act as objects of play beyond their stories. Similarly, some insertions, such as this chain of dolls that has been fashioned from a newspaper, give us rare insight into more unconventional modes of play.

These dolls have been carefully crafted and inserted into the front cover of *The Doll's House*, a book published in 1947. That a handmade object of play has been kept with the book suggests the equivalence between

children's books and toys. The joy of play is here associated with reading, which provides a touching link to the child owner of this book that can be physically felt.

The same can be said of another insertion placed in the front of an edition of *Little Women*. This version of the popular favourite contains a collection of pressed flowers and leaves.

Not only does this suggest another use for the book as a medium of flower pressing, but it also implies a connection between the human and non-human worlds that is mediated by the book. Between the paper pages of *Little Women*, the flowers stand as evidence that the owner of the book interacted with nature and brought it into the world of the book. Through this process, these flowers have been able to remain so many years after they sprouted, and live on within the book. This parallels the ways that children's literature provides us with a link the children of the past, and to our own past.



This continuity of childhood is also seen in the insertion of a bus ticket into the pages of *Conversations of Angelina and Her Doll*. The bus ticket is for a child's fare and is stamped "10SP46", well after the book's early nineteenth-century publication date. The idea that a past owner – perhaps the Jane B. Robertson from Glasgow that inscribed her name inside the cover – travelled with what would already have been an old book suggests the continued use of this object. Indeed, the damage it has sustained suggests that the book was well enjoyed. There is further continuity in the use of a ticket as a bookmark, something that our team agreed we have all done in the past.

That the bus ticket is for travel in Edinburgh adds another dimension to the narrative of this book, situating it in a time and place removed from its original publication, but linked to it. Although the title pages of this book are missing, the National Library of Scotland holds another copy of this edition (shelfmark ABS.1.75.226), which retains them: it was published by Oliver and Boyd in Edinburgh c. 1820.[3] The Edinburgh bus ticket contained within the Museum of Childhood's book renders this connection to Edinburgh tangible, and hints at its own story and movements. Although in some ways the Edinburgh of 1820 is far removed from the Edinburgh of 1946 and the Edinburgh of today, this book and its contents allow us to glimpse instances of continuity and connection. This bus ticket, among the countless other objects within the books in the Museum of Childhood's archive, therefore allows us to view the past through the lens of the children that owned and loved these books, granting us a unique and touching perspective.

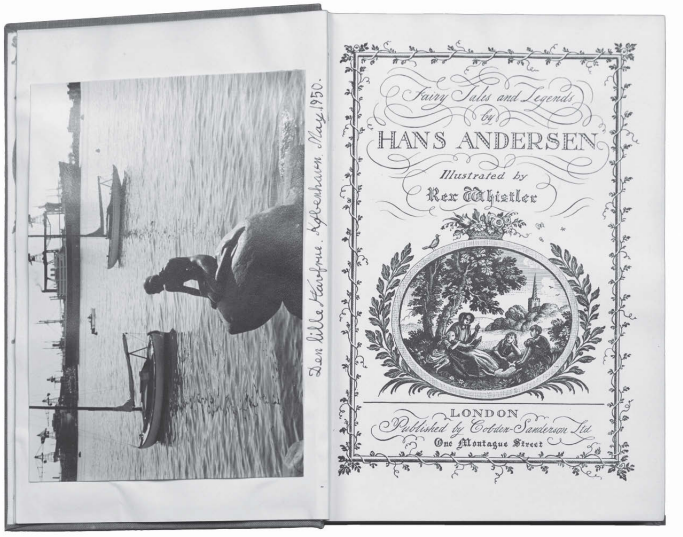
Danielle Howarth

III. Books as lived memory and the authors of our lives

Each trip into the basement of the City Chambers of Edinburgh with the SELCIE and the Museum of Childhood team presents a unique experience. Some days are full of sifting through grammar and geography books, some are spent cataloguing books published before 1850, and some are distinctively special. These days include those when we find a book from the eighteenth century that contains drawings of hundreds of outrageously

imagined animals, such as an elephant with human toes, or when we become mesmerised by a hand-made book with a sweet and sad story of the First World War. However, above all the other very special days that I have spent covered in dust, one stands alone.

In a box full of fairy tales, one immediately catches my eye. The beauty to be found within is compounded by the intricate designs on the turquoise front cover that flatter the name written in gold in the middle: 'Hans Andersen'. Many times the books that are beautiful on the outside do not contain many indicators of personal use on the inside, no marginalia, no dog-eared pages, no bookmarks.



This book is different, and from the moment I opened the front cover, I knew this book was loved. 'Hans Andersen: Truth and Legend' one newspaper clipping from April 1955 reads, and 'Hans Andersen in England' from July 1949 reads another. They have been carefully pasted onto the inside covers of the book along with postcards from Copenhagen upon which a curious hand has narrated them, all with the date May 1950.
The same hand has written on the first page: 'D.A.W. 3rd June. 1936. From Aunty Gwen', and a little telegram note from Abberton Hall, Pershore (in a different hand) tucked carefully under the front cover reads:

June 2: 36

Darling David

Many happy [underlined 7 times!] returns of your birthday. It is lovely to be five. Presently you will get a lovely Fairy Book called Hans Anderson. It is from me. And I do hope you will like it especially the pictures which are drawn by a friend of mine. I hope Mummy will bring you to stay here. We must arrange it. Many x x x from Auntie Gwen.

This book of fairy tales is a living memory of one boy's perhaps best-loved birthday. The pasted postcards depicting *den lille Havfrue* and *Nyhavn* with captions written in D.A.W.'s hand show a trip taken by the boy, David, then around age twenty. Little did Auntie Gwen know that when she sent along this book to David it would influence the trajectory of his life. This is a pre-Second World War gift driving the destiny of one young man in a post-Second World War life. David must have kept this book for nearly fifteen years, absorbing the wonder that it had to offer before setting off to Copenhagen in order to see for himself what magic there was to be found in Hans Andersen's home country. The care with which it has been embellished through the inclusion of postcards and clippings makes one wonder as to how this beautiful and beloved book ended up in the basement of the City Chambers of Edinburgh, its memories still very much intact, found by dust-covered hands.

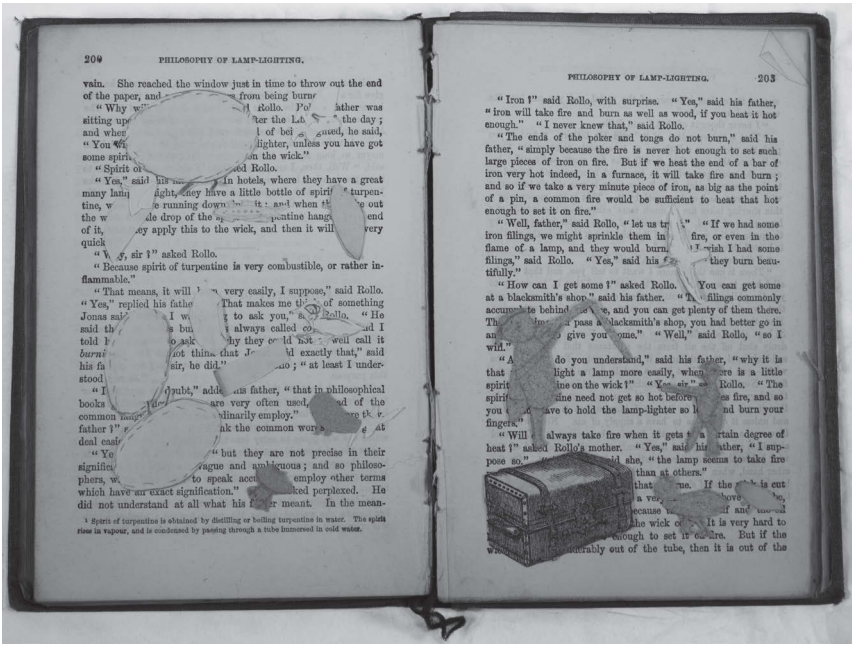
Flipping through the book, the binding breaks easier on some of the pages, the tell-tale sign of a well-loved and much-read story, and I imagine David lying on his tummy and elbows as I used to do as a child, admiring the drawings of Rex Whistler. Hans Andersen's fairy tales opened one young boy to a world of magic and wonder. From reading *The Little Mermaid* in a quiet room to cycling along the Langelinie in Copenhagen to see the statue that embodies all the dreams of fairy-beings we have as children, I share that past with David. Authors write books, and books write our lives. We find our deepest selves in the pages of books, and we can revisit our past lives in the books that preserve our lived memories. The faded type, the fingerprints, the tear drops, and the coffee mug's rings – all these are

markers of life lived in paper, breathing in the stories that make us who we are. There are days and times when a cloud of nostalgia sweeps over me as I pull out book after book from the boxes upon boxes in the City Chambers, but the tangible past that this book still breathes washes over me each time I read those words: 'It is lovely to be five'.

Morgan Boharski

IV. Euphemia's learning and the 'Green Spelling Book'

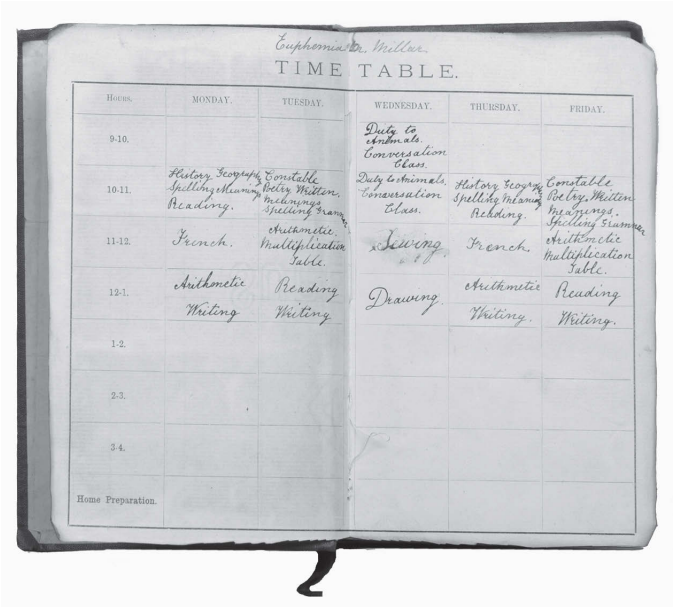
Grammar books are rarely considered precious, and educational books in general are often unappreciated as a part of childhood experience. Helping to catalogue books for the Museum of Childhood, and finding all the little tokens of appreciation children left on or between their pages, reminded me of my own relationship with books (including grammar texts), not only as a child, but also as a student. Even for an adult, the experience of learning a new language, through its novelty and experimental nature, though perhaps not identical, bears a resemblance to a child's experience. Although few inscriptions hint at children's attitudes towards their learning


PHILOSOPHY OF LAMP-LIGHTING.
vain. She reached the window just in time to throw out the end
of the paper, and
"Why
sitting up
and when
"You
some spirit
"Spirit of
"Yes," said
many lamp
tine, w
the w
of it,
quick
"W
"Because spirit of turpentine is very combustible, or rather in-
flammable."
"That means, it will
"Yes," replied his fathe
Jonas sai
said th
told h
burni
his fa
stood
"I
books
common
father ?"
deal easi
"Yo
signifies
phers, w
which have an exact signification." ked perplexed. He
did not understand at all what his f r meant. In the mean-
1 Spirit of turpentine is obtained by distilling or boiling turpentine in water. The spirit
rises in vapour, and is condensed by passing through a tube immersed in cold water.
PHILOSOPHY OF LAMP-LIGHTING. 203
"Iron !" said Rollo, with surprise. "Yes," said his father,
"iron will take fire and burn as well as wood, if you heat it hot
enough." "I never knew that," said Rollo.
"The ends of the poker and tongs do not burn," said his
father, "simply because the fire is never hot enough to set such
large pieces of iron on fire. But if we heat the end of a bar of
iron very hot indeed, in a furnace, it will take fire and burn ;
and so if we take a very minute piece of iron, as big as the point
of a pin, a common fire would be sufficient to heat that hot
enough to set it on fire."
"Well, father," said Rollo, "let us tr ." "If we had some
iron filings, we might sprinkle them in fire, or even in the
flame of a lamp, and they would burn ish I had some
filings," said Rollo. "Yes," said his f they burn beau-
tifully."
"How can I get some ?" asked Rollo. You can get some
at a blacksmith's shop," said his father. "Th filings commonly
accumulate behind e, and you can get plenty of them there.
Th pass a blacksmith's shop, you had better go in
an give you ome." "Well," said Rollo, "so I
will."
"A do you understand," said his father, "why it is
that light a lamp more easily, when re is a little
spirit ne on the wick ?" "Yes, sir," Rollo. "The
spirit ne need not get so hot before s fire, and so
you t ave to hold the lamp-lighter so l nd burn your
fingers."
"Will always take fire when it gets t rtain degree of
heat ?" asked Rollo's mother. "Yes," sai her, "I sup-
pose so." id she, "the lamp seems to take fire
than at others."
that ne. If the is cut
a ver ove
because f and
the wick c It is very hard to
enough to set it fire. But if the
rably out of the tube, then it is out of the

and school books, there are some very interesting examples in the copies of *The Sixth English Reading Book* by Simon S. Laurie, A. M., F. R. S. E, and *The Etymological Spelling-Book and Expositor* by Henry Butter.

The Sixth English Reading Book copy seems to have belonged to a Euphemia M. Miller and the fact that she pasted in her school timetable suggests her engagement with the book. Putting a timetable in a school book is perhaps not surprising, but this is so far the only example of such practice we found. Its presence suggests most of all that it was Euphemia's personal book, rather than a book belonging to a school. Additionally, inside the book were found cut-out characters, objects and animals along with empty speech bubbles, which were most likely made to assist in practicing various language skills, not unlike cartoons which can be found in contemporary grammar books.

The quality of the cut-out drawings suggests the author to be a child, whilst the timetable was filled in by a hand of an older girl or a young woman, taking lessons in history, geography, spelling, reading, French, arithmetic, writing, grammar, sewing, drawing, poetry and duty to animals.

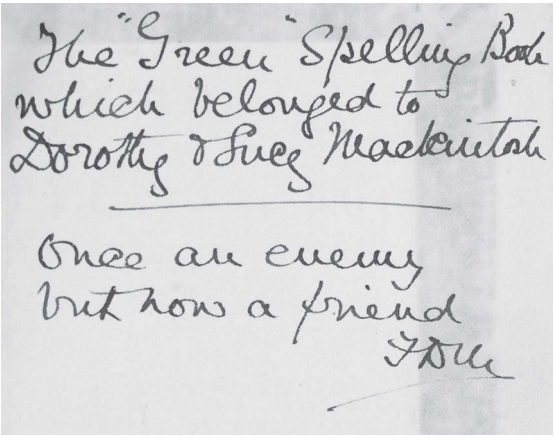

Euphemia M. Miller.

TIME TABLE.

Hours.	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.
9-10.			Duty to Animals. Conversation Class.		
10-11.	History, Geography, Spelling, Meanings, Reading.	Constable, Belty, Milton, Meanings, Spelling, Grammar.	Duty to Animals. Conversation Class.	History, Geography, Spelling, Meanings, Reading.	Constable, Belty, Milton, Meanings, Spelling, Grammar.
11-12.	French.	Arithmetic. Multiplication Table.	Sewing	French.	Arithmetic. Multiplication Table.
12-1.	Arithmetic. Writing.	Reading. Writing.	Drawing	Arithmetic. Writing.	Reading. Writing.
1-2.					
2-3.					
3-4.					
Home Preparation.					

Perhaps the owner had the book for a long period of time, but we can only speculate whether the cut-outs were made by Euphemia herself or some other little scholar who inherited her book. All of the above suggests that the book was used as an interactive tool of learning, though it does not clarify whether this was an enjoyable experience. The use of paper cut-outs suggests that an attempt was made to introduce some aspect of 'fun' into the process of learning, again, similarly to techniques used today to engage children learning any language.

The Etymological Spelling-Book, on the other hand, clearly suggests its owners' emotional and even affectionate response to it. The book bears a lovely inscription: 'The "Green" Spelling Book which belonged to Dorothy and Sue Mackintosh – Once an enemy but now a friend'.



This particular book has been republished many times and we found several other copies, but only one contains this proof of two girls' response to it and through this perhaps also to their educational experience in general, and the experience of many others who might not have put it in writing.

Among all the inscriptions found by us the one in 'the "Green" Spelling Book' is especially dear to me. In all the years I have studied English, even before university, I have sometimes felt enraged at English grammar and grammar books; on the other hand, there was the challenge, the love of learning and a resolve to possess this knowledge. I think these feelings are

common to children of all times and places. The books we learn from may become our 'enemies' – it is a part of the struggle we go through to gain knowledge. To stop perceiving them as such takes time and requires maturity which reading can provide. They are old friends who were always there for us, unnoticed, and who remain in the knowledge we possess, supporting us throughout our lives, long after we grow out of fairy tales.

Joanna Witkowska

Notes

1 For more information, see Lyn Stevens, 'The Story of the Museum of Childhood', *Growing Up With Books. A Little History of Children's Literature as seen through the Collection at Edinburgh's Museum of Childhood*, edited by Sarah Dunnigan and Danielle Howarth (SELCIE, 2018), pp. 9–13.

2 *The Letters of Annie S. Swan*, edited by Mildred Nicoll (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, 1945), p. 89.

3 The digital edition of the National Library of Scotland's book can be accessed at digital.nls.uk/109648054.

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Notes on Contributors

Paul Barnaby is Scottish Literary Collections Curator and maintains the Walter Scott Digital Archive at the University of Edinburgh Library. Published on French translations of Scott, Scottish literature's international reception and translation, and the Italian reception of French Naturalism, he has previously been main researcher for the Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT) at the National Library of Scotland.

Ivon Bartholomew is an Edinburgh-based commercial photographer and photojournalist. His creative imagery has featured in a number of previous high-profile exhibitions in Edinburgh. **www.ivonbartholomew.com**

Linden Bicket is Senior Teaching Fellow in the School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. Author of *George Mackay Brown and the Scottish Catholic Imagination* (2017) and co-editor (with Douglas Gifford) of *The Fiction of Robin Jenkins: Some Kind of Grace* (2017), her work focuses mainly on Catholic fiction, patterns of faith and scepticism in literature, and on writing for children.

Kirstie Blair is a Chair in English at the University of Strathclyde. She has published extensively on Victorian literature and culture, particularly in the fields of poetry and poetics, literature and religion, and working-class literature and culture. Her new monograph, *Working Verse in Victorian Scotland: Poetry, Press, Community,* is forthcoming from OUP.

Morgan Boharski received her PhD in medieval French literature from the University of Edinburgh in 2018. After living in France and Germany for two years working with and teaching children, she became interested in the ways books are used by children, both pedagogically and for pleasure, and found a home in the SELCIE project.

Valentina Bold, Principal Knowledge Exchange Fellow, University of Strathclyde, also works freelance. Published widely on Scottish literature and culture, including, with Andrew Nash, *Gateway to the Modern: Re-Situating J. M. Barrie* (2014), Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and General Editor of the Peter Lang series, 'Studies in the History and Culture of Scotland', she co-founded, with Sarah Dunnigan, SELCIE (Scotland's Early Literature for Children Initiative).

Rhona Brown is Senior Lecturer in Scottish Literature, at the University of Glasgow. Author of *Robert Fergusson and the Scottish Periodical Press* (2012) and co-editor of *Before Blackwood's: Scottish Journalism in the Age of Enlightenment* (2015), she is currently involved in two major AHRC-funded editing projects as Co-Investigator: 'Editing Robert Burns for the Twenty-first Century: Poetry and Correspondence' and 'The Edinburgh Allan Ramsay'.

Sarah Dunnigan, Senior Lecturer in English Literature, University of Edinburgh, teaches and writes about Scotland's medieval and renaissance literature, early women writers, ballads, fairy tales, and children's literature. She co-edited, with Danielle Howarth, *Growing Up With Books. A Little History of Children's Literature as seen through the Collection at Edinburgh's Museum of Childhood* (2018) and co-founded, with Valentina Bold, SELCIE (Scotland's Early Literature for Children Initiative).

Rodney Marcel Fierce is a Humanities Teacher at Sonoma Academy in Santa Rosa, California, finishing his dissertation for the University of Southern Mississippi's English Literature Doctoral Program. His work has appeared in *Of Bread, Blood, and the Hunger Games* (2012), *Mythlore,* and *Movies in the Age of Obama* (2014).

Timothy S. Hayes is Assistant Professor of English at Chowan University in Murfreesboro, North Carolina. Previously published in *English Literature in Transition: 1880–1920* and *The Journal of Stevenson Studies*, his current

research focuses on issues of socioeconomic class and race in fiction by Robert Louis Stevenson and Joseph Conrad.

Anne Marie Hagen is Associate Professor in English, Norwegian Defence University College, Oslo. She has published on nineteenth-century editing practices and the influence of religious and educational markets on developments in children's literature genres and children's publishing. Current research interests include history of reading, biographies aimed at young readers, and military life-writing.

Moira Hansen has recently completed her PhD at the University of Glasgow where she combined her dual backgrounds in life sciences and literary studies in a thesis which explored the impact of physical and mental health in the life and work of Robert Burns, arguing that Scotland's national poet was likely influenced by what would not be recognised as a form of bipolar disorder. More broadly, her research interests encompass the long eighteenth century, the medical humanities and the intersections between literature and science.

Caitlin R. Hansen works in publishing in Seattle and has presented papers on children's Shakespeares and on *Peter Pan* at the Pacific Northwest Renaissance Society and the Society for Utopian Studies conferences. She has guided school-age children through the adaptation and performance of *The Tempest* with 826 Seattle (now the Bureau of Fearless Ideas).

Sara Hines, co-owner of *Eight Cousins*, an independent bookshop in Maine, specialising in children's literature, received her University of Edinburgh doctorate for a thesis on Andrew Lang's fairy books. Her article, 'Collecting the Empire: Andrew Lang's Fairy Books (1889–1910)', appeared in *Marvels and Tales*. She has written about the illustration history of the Grimms.

Danielle Howarth, a PhD candidate in Medieval Studies at the University of Edinburgh, has been Principal Research Assistant with SELCIE since

2015. She co-edited, with Sarah Dunnigan, *Growing Up With Books. A Little History of Children's Literature as seen through the Collection at Edinburgh's Museum of Childhood* (2018).

Adam Kozaczka studies violence, crime, nation, and the law in eighteenth-century and Romantic novels. Holding a fellowship at Syracuse University Humanities Center, he is currently finishing a law and literature PhD there in English on the relationship between Romantic medievalism in the novel and the rise of modern criminal law in Britain. His work appears in the *Burney Journal, Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts,* and some critical collections.

Sìm Innes is Lecturer in Celtic and Gaelic at the University of Glasgow. He works on medieval and modern Scottish Gaelic literature and folklore. He has a particular interest in the transmission, borrowing, and translation of culture and ideas.

Shu-Fang Lai is Professor at National Sun Yat-Sen University, Taiwan, there teaching Victorian literature and Literary Translation. A Dickensian, twice a jury member for Best Children's Picture Books and Juvenile Literature of the Year in Taiwan, her publications include *Victorian Fancy* (2013) and articles in *Dickensian, Dickens Quarterly* and *Scottish Literary Review.* She has written about Chinese translations of Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows.*

Kate Louise Mathis teaches in the Celtic department at the University of Glasgow. She has published on Gaelic women's elegiac poetry and is preparing a monograph assessing Deirdre's development from medieval Ireland to the Celtic Revival. Kate also compiled the Index for this book and provided editorial assistance.

Anne McKee Stapleton is Associate Professor of Instruction at the University of Iowa, teaching English, Irish, and Scottish literature. Author

of *Pointed Encounters: Scottish Dance in Post-Culloden Literature* (2014), she publishes on nineteenth-century Scottish literature and culture. Her digital humanities project *Under the Banner of Waverley* (launched 2017) – **waverly.lib.uiowa.edu** – investigates Walter Scott's remarkable literary legacy in the United States.

Linda Claridge Middup, an independent scholar, attained her PhD through part-time study at Warwick University, while working as a part-time Children's Worker with the local council's Children and Family Education Service. Published in *The Victorian Literature Handbook, La Questione Romantica,* and *Nineteenth Century Gender Studies,* she is currently working on a collection of short stories for children which she is also illustrating.

Jeremy Mitchell, formerly Director of the UK National Consumer Council, is author and editor of a number of books and articles and working, with Janet Powney, on the life and works of Mary Gordon (Mrs Disney Leith).

David Oulton is a member of the Digital Innovation Team in the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Edinburgh. Working primarily in bringing research projects to the web, he has been involved with SELCIE since 2016, designing and building the project website and in the production of *Growing Up With Books: A Little History of Children's Literature as seen through the Collection at Edinburgh's Museum of Childhood* (2018).

J. Patrick Pazdziora is Associate Professor at the College of Liberal Arts, Shantou University. He researches Scottish literature in the long nineteenth century, with emphasis on the interplay between literature and religion.

Janet Powney is an educational researcher and was formerly Secretary-General of the International Society for Teacher Education. With Jeremy Mitchell, she is working on the life and works of Mary Gordon (Mrs Disney Leith).

David Salter is Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Edinburgh. His principal research interests are in medieval romance and hagiography. Author of *Holy and Noble Beasts: Encounters with Animals in Medieval Literature* (2001), he is currently completing a cultural history of the Franciscan order in England.

Lyn Stevens is a Curator at the Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh, and leads the cataloguing project which aims to widen access to the Museum's stored book collection. Her other current projects include researching representations of race and racial equality in Childhood collections. She also works as a Registrar at the National Museums of Scotland.

Joanna Witkowska is a PhD candidate in medieval literature at the University of Edinburgh. She contributed a chapter to *Growing Up With Books: A Little History of Children's Literature as seen through the Collection at Edinburgh's Museum of Childhood*. Being a member of SELCIE, she continues to discover how much children's literature connects the present with the past through surprisingly familiar childhood experiences.

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This volume of twenty essays presents a unique insight into the world of Scottish children's literature throughout the long nineteenth century. From periodicals to poetry, chapbooks to fairy tales, short stories to plays, it reveals the richness and diversity of writing for children in this period.

As well as revisiting much-loved authors such as Stevenson, Barrie, and MacDonald, it explores the neglected role of women writers in shaping the inheritance of Scottish children's literature, as well as the significant contribution of Gaelic writers, and the role of folklore and tradition. Essays also examine the significance of children as literary protagonists, and as readers themselves. In recovering these marginal voices and texts, and in showing how well-known stories explore questions of culture, identity, and language, *The Land of Story-Books* seeks to restore the traditions of children's writing to the heart of Scottish literary history.

Jessie Wilcox Smith (1863–1935), illustration to "Picture-Books in Winter" from *A Child's Garden of Verses* (Robert Louis Stevenson, 1885).

Occasional Papers series
Number 23

Scottish Literature International

Scottish Literature International is an imprint of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies
www.asls.org.uk

ISBN 978-1-908980-29-8
90000
9 781908 980298